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ABSTRACT

This yearbook contains papers that provide the reader with a general idea of the aspects and issues that interest Nordic researchers today and how they approach these problems. To provide a more uniform picture of the status of adult education in the different Nordic countries, four brief general surveys begin the book: "Adult Education Research in Denmark" (Bjarne Wahlgren); "Adult Education Research in Finland" (Jukka Tuomisto); "Adult Education Research in Norway" (Anna Gullichsen); and "Adult Education Research in Sweden" (Maj Klasson). Papers on Denmark include the following: "Participants' Outcome of Courses for Long-Term Unemployed" (Vibe Aarkrog, Bjarne Wahlgren); "General Qualification of Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers" (Knud Illeris); "Problems and Potentials in Danish Adult Education" (Bo Jacobsen); and "Seven Ascertainments of Adult Education" (Kim Jacobsen). Finnish papers are as follows: "Transforming Adult Teaching" (Antti Kauppi); "Framework for Adult Education" (Seppo Kontiainen, Jyri Manninen); "Elements of Teaching Materials in Multiform Instruction" (Kari Nurmi); "Future of Adult Education" (Pirkko Remes); "Quality Circles as a Learning Environment" (Urpo Sarala); and "Development of Trade Union Education and New Challenges" (Jukka Tuomisto). Five articles relate to Norway: "Governing of Knowledge: Case of Work-Related Adult Education and Training" (Jens Bjornavold); "What Role Do Age and Context Play in Self-Regulated Learning" (Tove Dahl); "Survey of Participation in the Municipal and County Municipal Adult Education in Norway during School Year 1990-91" (Bjorn Madsen); "Contribution of Voluntary Organization to Norwegian Adult Education" (Leif Moland); and "Development of Mother Tongue Teachers' Further Education" (Perly Norberg). Papers on Sweden are as follows: "Knowledge and Democracy" (Lars Arvidson, Kjell Rubenson); "Postmodern Learning Process--Composition of Knowledge in New Social Movements" (Bosse Bergstedt); "Adults' Life and Learning" (Lena Borgstrom, Robert Hoghielm); "Research Circle--Some Educational Perspectives" (Lars Holmstrand, Gunilla Harnsten); and "Essence of Teaching Adults--Views of 124 Swedish Teachers in Municipal Adult Education" (Staffan Larsson). Notes on contributors are appended. (YLB)

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Social Change and Adult Education Research

— Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1990/91

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To the Reader

In all the Nordic countries, adult education has long traditions which date back to the 19th century. People who worked in adult education in the different countries began quite early to visit each other regularly and this Nordic co-operation has produced its own organizations and forms of activity. The significance of adult education as a tool of social policy has increased greatly in the last few decades and, as a result, more and more attention has been paid to the research, experiments and development of this field.

Nordic co-operation in the field of adult education research dates back to the 1970's when the Nordic Council of Ministers designed a specific project programme (1976) for the development and integration of co-operation in adult education. The programme included, among other things, a survey of research and development work carried out in adult education in the different Nordic countries. The Nordic Folk Academy (Nordens Folkliga Akademi) has since then organized several internordic conferences on problems related to the research and development of adult education.

The co-operation of the Nordic adult education researchers was strengthened by the first Nordic Adult Education Researcher Meeting which was organized in Kungälv in 1990 under the auspices of Nordens Folkliga Akademi. The meeting was specifically designed to serve as a forum for contacts and discussions. The first meeting was attended by 73 researchers in all and the second meeting in the summer of 1991 by 46 researchers. This second meeting was held in Gothenburg where Nordens Folkliga Akademi had just moved. The following researcher meeting will be in Gothenburg in the summer of 1992. The goal is that the meeting will gradually develop into an annual or biannual conference of Nordic adult education researchers.

The development of a new interdisciplinary field of research and research community involves both cognitive and social institutionalization (see the article by Maj Klasson). Cognitive institutionalization comprises, for example, identifying the central problem areas of the discipline, conceptual and theoretical analysis of the discipline and development of methodological solutions and research strategies. Social institutionalization, on the other hand, refers to the creation and maintenance of the formal and social structure of the research community. In practice this means that the discipline establishes its own research society, publishes its own scientific journal and organizes its own research conferences. An advanced institutionalized research community has its own academic institutions, chairs, researcher education and programmes, postgraduate and doctoral students, as well as an ongoing production of research articles and monographs.

Of the Nordic Countries, Finland and Sweden have perhaps the most institutionalized system of adult education research. The first chair in adult education was established in the School of Social Sciences (currently the University of Tampere) in Finland in 1946. Since that time it has been possible to take a Doctor's degree in adult education. At the end of the 1970's the University of Helsinki also started providing research courses in adult education and the second professorship in this field was established there in 1980. The number of doctoral dissertations in adult education is still rather modest (about ten). It is typical of Finland that research in this field is concentrated in universities and that it has primarily been basic research. Nowadays, however, a growing proportion of studies are related to practical development activity, especially working life development. The Adult Education Research Society in Finland has already worked for a long time and has published its scientific journal Aikuiskasvatus (Adult Education) since 1981.

In Sweden the development of adult education research aroused a lot of interest in the 1950' and 1960's. Even though Finnish adult education has the longest traditions as a university discipline, the quantity of Swedish adult education research is apparently the highest. Research in this field has been carried out in Sweden since the 1970's. Several universities have been involved, mainly their departments of education and teacher education. The first and so far the only Swedish chair in adult education was established in the university of Linköping in 1982. It became a kind of centre of the network of adult education researchers in Sweden. The number of doctoral dissertations amounts to about 30 at present. Adult education research has always had strong links with practice in Sweden and the research done has served practical development purposes. The co-operation of Swedish adult education researchers has been organized through several different networks and research programmes. So far there is no scientific publication in this field in Sweden, but Swedish researchers have actively contributed to international journals and books.

In Denmark, compared with the other Nordic countries, research in adult education has been relatively modest. A systematic and more comprehensive adult education research activity was started in the late 1970's. In 1984 the Danish parliament adopted an extensive 10-point adult education programme, which among other things focused on expanding development work in this field. The Development Centre of Popular Enlightenment and Adult Education was established in 1985. The FOFU (Foreningen af Forsknings- og Udviklingsvirksomhed i Folkeoplysning og Voksenundervisning, i.e. the Society for Research and Development in Adult Education) was founded in 1985. Its function is the same as that of the corresponding Finnish research society, i.e. to act as a link between researchers and adult educators. The only Danish chair in adult education was established in 1969 and is located in the

Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. In 1990 the school, together with three other university departments, launched an adult education research network within the Council of Humanistic Sciences. Typically, Danish research has always been closely related to practice. A considerable part of research has been associated with local experimental and developmental activity or its evaluation. In Denmark, too, adult education research is today more and more closely related to the development of working life.

The fundamental principles of Norwegian adult education are stipulated in a law which was passed in 1976. Adult education is not represented as an individual subject in any university, since it is not considered an independent discipline. Consequently, there is no professorhip in this field either. However, at least one doctoral dissertation in the field of adult education has been published in Norway. The research and survey activity necessary for the development of adult education is the responsibility of Norsk Voksenpedagogisk Institutt (the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education), founded in 1977. It works directly under the Ministry of Education and its task is to assist the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs in developing and coordinating adult education. The NVI is also responsible for establishing contacts between universities and other institutions in the field of adult education. The process of cognitive institutionalization is only in its prime in Norway. Typically, research focuses on studying the voluntary educational organizations and adults as participants in primary and secondary school. The problems of recruitement and participation have been of special interest. Promoting social equality has provided the point of departure for research. In the last five years studies have also focused on the adult education problems of working life.

In conclusion it can be noted that adult education research began to expand in all the Nordic countries at about the same time in the 1970's, leading to major development in the field. In all these countries adult education was seen as essential in promoting social equality. In the 1980's adult education became a more integral part of social policy. Research in this field is today to a large extent related to the development of working life. Studies of employment education, in-service education and learning on the job have increased in number. The earlier empirical questionnaire studies are being replaced by different development projects and action research approaches. The learning of adults is now to a growing extent observed from the perspective of life history and lifelong learning. The use of qualitative and historical research methods has also diversified research. The international contacts of the Nordic researchers have expanded continuously. The integration of Europe will probably further increase the need for co-operation among adult education researchers. With free mobility of labour force, the problems related to the development of vocational adult education, for example, will be shared by all the countries involved. Similarly, interaction with foreign cultures will require adults to change their attitudes and to adopt new knowledge.

The contents of this yearbook have been compiled primarily on the basis of the papers presented in the second Nordic researcher meeting. The articles do not necessarily give a full picture of the research carried out in the different countries, but hopefully they provide the reader with a general idea of the aspects and issues which interest the Nordic researchers today and, also, of how they approach these problems. To provide a more uniform picture of the status of adult education in the different Nordic countries, brief general surveys have been added to the beginning of the book.

Jukka Tuomisto

GENERAL SURVEYS

Adult Education Research in Denmark

Bjarne Wahlgren

The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies

1. History

The first and so far only chair in adult education was established in 1969 on The Royal School of Educational Studies.

In 1976 a report on the recruitment to the leisure time education for adults was presented (1).Though 'popular enlightenment' in various connections has been described previously, you might state, that this report marks the beginning of a more systematic and comprehensive research within the adult educations in Denmark.

This report was in the late seventies followed by similar reports, various descriptions of research and development works of research character and by actual research including a didactic perspective(2).

Since the mid-eighties, the research on adult education has expanded significantly, and thus achieved a more permanent character.

Consequently, the Danish research on adult education is a relatively new activity. This in spite of the fact, that adult education and popular enlightenment both have a long and comprehensive tradition. One might assert, that until recently there has been, and perhaps still is, a disproportion between the extend of educational activities and the effort of research on the field.

2. Structure, organization, network

The Danish research on adult education is characterised by its close relations to the practice. Thus, a considerable part of the research is carried out as experiment- and developmental work and as evaluation and follow-up research.

Since the middle of the eighties extensive research- and development work has taken place within the adult educations and the popular enlightenments. Often in connection with legislative work. This applies to " Lov om Almen voksen uddannelse ", (Act on General Qualifying Adult Education) to " Lov om tilskud til Folkeoplysning " (Act on subsidies of Popular Enlightenment) and in relation to a newly established type of institutions "The Day Folk Highschools".

The collection and systemization of the experiences from the mentioned development programs has mainly been undertaken by "Udviklingscenter for folkeoplysning og voksenundervisning " (the Development Centre of Popular Enlightenment and Adult education) established 1984.

Research in a narrower sense takes place both at Universities and at sector-research institutions.

The universities and institutes of higher education, are University of Copenhagen, Tne University of Roskilde, The University of Aalborg and The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. At these institutions groups of employees permanently work with research in the field of adult education. The four institutions have established a 'research-network' in 1990 subsidized by Det Humanistiske Forskningsråd (Council of Humanistic Science). The purpose of the network is to develop theory within the field, which as mentioned has been characterized by widespread practice and emperistic orientated works.

The sector-research institutions, which in particular have manifested themselves in the field, are Local Governments Research Institute, The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Danish Technological Institute and The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies for Teachers at Technical and Commercial Colleges.

In 1991 a "vocational research-network" was established. This includes : The University of Roskilde, The University of Aalborg, The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies for Teachers at Technical and Commercial Colleges and The Danish Technological Institute.

In additional to the previously mentioned institutions, the commercial colleges (Handelshøjskoler) do some research on Adult Education. Furthermore, research and similar activities are taking place in other and less formalized contexts. An example is " Idrætforsk ", a research-institute which carries out research on gymnastics, i.e. activities at the borderlines between clubs and societies, popular enlightenment and adult education.

In the year 1985 the society, FOFU (Society for Research- and Development in Popular Enlightenment and Adult Education) was established. Among others, the objective of the society is to be a meeting place for people, who work within the field, a link between researchers and appliers of research results.

3. Economy

The research in adult education in Denmark is mainly financed by public subsidizes. Though examples of fully or partly subvention from organizations as The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions and other major organizations can be found.

Basic grants for the research are primarily provided for salaries for the permanent staff. In 1988 an assessment was made of the number of permanent employed researchers, who where fully or partly occupied with adult education research. Converted to full-time jobs it amounted to what is equivalent to six years-work.(3) Today we must assume the amount to have doubled.

In addition to this, a large number of "research assistants" are engaged in 'ad-hoc-like', temporary research activities. The research assistants are paid from permanent or temporary grants and funds that are attached to research and evaluation programs. The major permanent foundations are " Arbejdsministeriets Forskningsmidler ", (Research Foundation of the Labour Ministry) and the research council funds. The major temporary funds in 1991 are :"Evaluation program for education offers for the long-term Unemployed", "Evaluation program for adult education subsidy program linked to The act of paid educational leave", evaluation of : "The social development program" and evaluation of " The school as a local cultural centre program".

Gradually, parts of the research in the field are financed by EEC funds.

4. Research Areas

Danish research on adult education has primary focused on the following topics :

(a) *.The politics on equally distribution of education*

Surveys on participants in adult education and popular enlightenment programs. These include studies of the barriers, especially among the porly educated and the participants who are alien to education. In this connection an extensive number of development projects aim at recruiting new participant groups and generating new teaching methods.

Essential here are an extensive number of development projects aiming at procuring new participant-groups and generating new teaching methods.

Likewise studies of selected participant groups' requirements and requests for adult education have been conducted as for instance a research on labour union-members view on adult education.

The interest in the topics mentioned above, still dominates the Danish research on adult education. For example in the actual evaluation of the Act of Paid Educational Leave. In a way you may regard the research in connection with the unemployed as related to the general problems : How to reach new target-groups ? How can we use adult education as an instrument of distribution ? What are the contents and forms of adult education for these groups? The research concerned with gender and equality can be viewed from the same perspective.

(b) *Systems,- descriptions and evaluations*

Central parts of the adult educational system have been studied. The involved areas are :

- labour market educations, vocational training, retraining courses, adjustment-to-industry courses (arbejdsmarkedsuddannelser og efteruddannelser),
- the general qualifying adult education which is situated at the Adult Education Centres (almen kompetencegivende voksenuddannelse),
- the 'production-schools (produktionsskoler),
- the day-high-schools (daghøjskoler),
- the popular enlightenment associations (folkeoplysningsforbund similar to e.g. the English 'Workers Educational Assiciation
- the trade unions internal educational systems.

The research has partly been system-descriptive and analysing and has partly investigated the effect of the various educational initiatives. As for example a large scale three years sequence longitutional study on participants from the general qualifying education.

Evaluations of larger or smaller "educational reforms" are also part of this research. Presently these evaluations concern:

- Evaluation of a one-year labour market education for unemployed women (P47),
- Evaluation of the education-offer program for unemployed (UTB),
- Evaluation of "The school as a local cultural centre",

- Evaluation of the implementation of the act on Paid Educational Leave, (VUS)

Methods in evaluation research" is accordingly a specific research topic..

(c) *. Adult Education and the labour market*

This seems to be the most comprehensive area (or sub-field).in thiese years Almost all of the research institutions mentioned above, are working with research under this headline. The main topics and problems in this area are :

- development of qualifications
- vocational training in new forms
- cooperation between educational institutions
- the learning process on the job (in-service training/teaching)
- the relation between general and vocational training

As an example of this are projects on the labour market educations and computer technology, about the correlation between general and vocationally oriented qualifications,- and about general qualifications in labour market educations.

(d) *. The learning perspective*

This headline covers the problems and topics more closely related to teaching and the learning process. The problems of didactics. Relevant issues are :

- the relation between experience, knowing and learning
- the social impact on the learning process,
- the importance of learning surrondings and the learning context
- new teaching methods, data-assisted (interactive) learning and distance learning
- the need for new qualifications of the teachers and correspondently the need for teacher training and education

Notes :

1. Carpens and Jacobsen (1976): *Rekrutteringen til fritidsundervisning for voksne i Danmark*, (Recruitment to popular enligtenment and adult education in Denmark), Copenhagen.
2. As an example of "research like experience collection", I refer to Wahlgren (1981) *Uddannelsesbarrierer*(Barriers against adult education), Copenhagen. An example of a research project with a didactic perspective is Jacobsen, Schnack and Wahlgren (1980) : *Erfaring og undervisning*,(Experience and aducation), Copenhagen 1980

3. FOFU and Udviklingscenter for folkeoplysning og voksenundervisning (1988) *Voksenuddannelsesforskningens* fremtid (The future of Adult Education Research), Copenhagen .

Adult Education Research in Finland

Jukka Tuomisto

1. Historical background

The history of Finnish adult education research is closely related to both the status of adult education as a university discipline and the development of the University of Tampere. The foundation of the Civic High School in Helsinki in 1925 marks the beginning of the University of Tampere. Later on (1930) the school was called the School of Social Sciences. It was transferred to Tampere in 1960, and its name was changed into the University of Tampere in 1966. The university came under state control in 1974.

The teaching of adult education was started in Finland in 1929, when a part-time teacher's post in liberal adult education was established in the Civic High School. It was thus possible to study adult education at university level as early as the 1930's. The first person to be appointed to this post (1929—1938), Dr. Zachris Castrén, emphasized from the beginning the significance of scientific research and theoretical approach in adult education. The post was made full-time in 1940, and it was changed into a full professorship of liberal adult education in 1946. Since then it has been possible to study adult education as the major or minor subject in a programme leading to a Master's degree. Urpo Harva, Ph.D., was the first professor to hold this chair (1946—73). His special areas of interest were the philosophy of education and the theory of adult education. Professor Harva was followed by Matti Peltonen, Ph.D., and Aulis Alanen, D.Soc.Sc. The name of the discipline was changed to adult education in 1965, following international practice. For a long time the Department of Adult Education was located in the Faculty of Social Sciences, but on the foundation of the Faculty of Education in 1974 the adult education posts were transferred to the Department of Adult Education and Youth Work of this new faculty. At the beginning of 1991 the discipline was moved to the expanded Department of Educational Studies which now, in addition to adult education, comprises general pedagogics, youth education and vocational education.

At the end of the 1970's the University of Helsinki also started providing courses in adult education. The professorship of education, specializing in adult education, was established in the Faculty of Education of the University of Helsinki in 1980. In addition to full professors, both the University of Tampere and the University of Helsinki have associate professors, as well as lecturers and researchers. The departments of education in many other Finnish universities (in all there are 20 universities in Finland and eight of them have faculties of education) are currently very interested in adult education. For example, the universities of Jyväskylä, Turku and the Swedish language bo Akademi now provide teaching in adult education and are also involved in research in this area.

The adult education research done in university departments can be divided into the individual projects of the professors and other staff members, licentiate and doctoral dissertations of the postgraduate students, and research contracts. Some of the Master's theses, too, are remarkable contributions to research. Since the staff of university departments specializing in adult education has remained quite small, the amount of research has also been fairly modest. Even though the number Master's degrees in adult education already amounts to some 350, only 10 doctor's degrees have been awarded so far. However, the problems of adult education have been dealt with in connection with doctoral dissertations of many other disciplines, such as education, sociology, psychology, social policy and administrative sciences. The number of research contracts has grown continuously since the 1970's. They used to be projects of individual researchers, but at present they are mostly cooperative projects involving several staff members. It is worth mentioning that in 1989, about 60 adult education projects and about 50 experimental projects were in progress.

In the past the few researchers typically chose their area of study quite independently, on the basis of their personal interests. In the 1970's this picture was changed totally when a comprehensive development project in adult education was launched. The authorities responsible for the planning of education began to demand that adult education research should be more closely linked to this development work. This has now happened, even though the universities are still fairly free to choose their subjects of research.

The research areas of adult education in general and the most urgent projects specifically were defined for the first time in the report of *the Adult Education Committee* in 1975.

The Council of Adult Education, which operates under the Ministry of Education, designed in 1987 *a programme of research policy in adult education*. The programme listed a number of research areas which the

Council considered urgent (Vaherva 1988, 18—22). The areas were not placed in order of priority, however. The areas were:

- *Problems related to the management of rapidly changing working life*
- *Efficiency and effectiveness of adult education*
- *Problems related to the teaching and learning of adults*
- *Problems related to the structure and organisation of studies and training, as well as the financial aid scheme in adult education*

Several more detailed research problems were mentioned in connection with each research area. To a certain extent at least, this programme of research policy has obviously guided the choice of research subjects among adult education researchers, since it is easier to get project funding for research areas listed in the programme.

2. Structure, organisation, network

The development and coordination of adult education research — to the extent it is financed with public funds — is above all the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. A central role is played by the new National Board of Education, established in 1991, which combined two earlier national boards (the National Board of Vocational Education and the National Board of General Education). The new National Board of Education has a separate division for adult education.

In Finland, adult education research mostly happens in uni- versities. Some research is also done by various institutions of the central government, private organisations, as well as by employers' and trade unions' organisations. The institutions involved in adult education research include the following:

Universities

a) The basic research in adult education mainly takes place in the Department of Education of the University of Helsinki and the Department of Educational Studies of the University of Tampere. A few members of their staff specialize in the teaching and research of adult education.

b) The departments of education of other universities are also involved in adult education research to some degree.

c) The departments of some other disciplines are occasionally involved in research in this area (e.g. departments of sociology, psychology, social policy, business administration, psychology of work).

d) Separate research institutes of certain universities also participate to some degree (mainly in research contracts). These include the Work Research Centres of the universities of Tampere and Jyväskylä, the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education at the University of Turku, and the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Jyväskylä.

e) The further education centres of Finnish universities (20 in all) have also launched some research projects recently, mainly related to the evaluation and development of their own activity.

The various government ministries and offices

The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, together with their boards and offices, have naturally been very active in launching and carrying out adult education research projects. Usually they work in cooperation with a university department or institute. The Development Centre for State Administration (earlier the Training Centre for State Administration), established in 1970, has had an essential role in the adult education research related to the development of working life.

Other organisations

Some adult education organisations have participated in independent research activity for quite a long time now. Some of the largest adult education organisations even have their own separate research divisions whose task is to start and organize research projects focusing on their own activity. Similarly, many organisations operating in working life, the central organisations of employers and trade unions, as well as the major employers have started research on the development and evaluation of their own education.

It has been estimated that about two thirds of all Finnish adult education research is done in universities, while one third is carried out by other organisations operating in working life.

The Adult Education Research Society has been operating since 1940 (its previous name was Popular Education Society). It has promoted adult education research by issuing publications and arranging seminars, for example. The members of the Society are adult education researchers, or representatives of public administration and of the field itself who are interested in research. One task of the Society has always been to promote cooperation between people who work in different areas of adult education. Over the last few years the membership has been about 150—200.

The Society has issued (mostly together with the Society for Culture and Education) the following publications:

- the *Yearbook of Liberal Adult Education* (1942—),
- the journal of *Popular Education* (1948—1954),
- the research journal *Adult Education* (1981—),
- an English language journal *Adult Education in Finland* (1963—1989).

The Adult Education Research Society has been involved in arranging research seminars, open for all, since the 1960's. In 1989 the Society organized the first meeting which was specifically intended for adult education researchers; they thus had an opportunity of discussing their own projects and problems related to their research. In the future, similar researcher meetings will be arranged every second year, the next one being planned for 1992.

3. Financing research

The major financer of adult education research in Finland is the state. There are three alternative ways in which the state can help in organizing and subsidizing research in this field: developing the research resources of the universities, increasing the Finnish Academy funding for adult education (i.e. extensive research projects including researcher training), and directing more research and experiment funding of the ministries to adult education. In addition to state financing, adult education research receives funding from other organisations, too. The financial resources coming to adult education research through universities have hardly grown at all over the last few years. Departments which specialize in adult education have received only a few new posts. However, each year some research contracts have been initiated with the help of government funding. This has enabled the departments to employ project researchers for a designated period of time.

The Finnish Academy issued its programme for the development of education research in 1977, specifically mentioning adult education as one of the key areas of research. The proposal did not bring the desired result, however, and so in the late 1980's the Academy prepared a special "Research programme for lifelong education" (1990—1992). In this programme adult education has a central place.

Government ministries and departments have allocated an increasing amount of their research funding to adult education. For example, the Ministry of Education has financed a special research programme which examines the relationship of education and working life. Some adult education projects have been part of it.

Special *funds for adult education research and experiments* were included in the budget of the national boards of education in the mid 1980's. The National Board of General Education was responsible for liberal adult education, while the National Board of Vocational Education was responsible for vocational adult education. Between them the two boards divided the funds intended for research and experimental activity in adult education. As mentioned earlier, the two boards were merged in 1991 into the National Board of Education which is currently responsible for the development of adult education research and experiments. In 1991 research activity was granted about FIM 1,1 million. It has to be borne in mind, however, that many other boards and ministries are also involved in adult education activities. Various *experimental projects* received about FIM 6 million in 1991: FIM 4 million went to vocational adult education, about 350,000 to liberal adult education and about 1,5 million to cooperative projects concerning both of these areas.

The present National Board of Education quite obviously wants to create a new image for itself: having in the past been primarily a governing and controlling board it now emphasizes its role as the developer of education. It is therefore natural that research, experiment and development activity has now a much greater emphasis in its operations.

Many municipalities, church organisations, liberal adult education organisations, trade unions, employers' confederations, major employers and other organisations providing adult education services also finance research projects related to their own education. Systematic data on these research funds are not available. In certain cases these organisations may get financial support from the national funds for their adult education research and experiments.

4. The content of research

In the beginning, adult education research mainly focused on a theoretical-philosophical study of the basic concepts and tasks of the discipline. The main contributors to the discussion and publications were the first teachers in adult education (Castr n and Harva), as well as some other leading figures of the field. Research focused on liberal adult education and its problems. The first empirical questionnaire studies were made in the 1960's.

Research activity began to develop both in quantity and quality especially in the 1970's. The scope of research expanded and research became more diverse. Adult education began to be seen as an entity which comprised not only liberal adult education but also rapidly increasing vocational education. The Adult Education Committee launched the first national participation research project on the study activity of adults in 1971—72 (Lehtonen & Tuomisto 1975). In the 1970's the emphasis was on sociologically oriented empirical questionniare studies. Researchers also pondered over the scientific or theoretical basis of adult education (Alanen 1978).

In the 1980's, adult education research continued to expand. Research in adult psychology and didactics, earlier done only to a limited degree in Finland, increased. Researchers have been interested in, for example, the learning styles of adults and the different forms of learning at work. The philosophy of values in adult education has also inspired researchers (Harva 1981; Alanen 1988; Tuomisto 1990). The action research approach, associated with various development projects, has grown in popularity (see e.g. Sarala 1986). "Developmental work research" (Engeström 1987), in particular, is worth mentioning; it has been applied to the development of the work of several different occupational groups. Comparative research in adult education (Pantzar 1985) and the history of adult education (Tuomisto 1987) have also been studied. In the last few years Finnish researchers have been attracted by qualitative approaches and by examining adult education from the perspective of life management. The problems of lifelong learning in general and studying it from the point of view of the individual's life history have also inspired many researchers.

In the past research focused mainly on liberal adult education and adult students who studied in their free time. In the last two decades the emphasis in research has clearly shifted to examining the problems of working life, that is, to vocational further education for adults, as well as to labour market training. Linking research with the general development of the field has also grown continuously.

Most publications of the adult education research done in Finland are available in Finnish only; however, a number of English language articles, based on Finnish research in this field, have been published in the volumes of the journal Adult Education in Finland.

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Adult Education Research in Norway

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Historical background

Adult education research is a relatively recent development in Norway, compared with the other established social sciences. Although this country has a long tradition of popular and adult education, research in this field has a relatively short history. In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s sporadic attempts were made to map the extent of participation in adult education activities. Since 1977 when the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education (NVI) was established, adult education research in Norway has primarily been carried out at the NVI or in cooperation with the institute.

Organization

The creation of a Norwegian Institute of Adult Education was dealt with in Proposition No. 150 to the Storting (1971-72). The proposition descriebed the purpose of establishing a separate institute as follows:

- The NVI is to "Engage in education, research, innovation and development, reports and planning, as well as serving in an advisory, liason and consulting capacity for its own programmes or in cooperation with other institutions.
- Initiative measures in the same fields as other institutions.
- Assist the Adult Education Council and the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs with the overall coordination of activities in the field.
- These efforts should be designated to meet the actual needs, both short-term and long-term, which become apparent in adult education. The institute is to be user-oriented.

- In planning its own activities, the institute must give priorities to tasks considered particularly important by adult education interest groups, and which are not being solved in other way.

- The institute should help to initiate measures at other institutions within the framework of a comprehensive plan for the development of adult education. The institute must work in close cooperation with the Adult Education Council in connection with such tasks.

- As a professional service body, the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education must establish contact with a variety of institutions in the fields of practical adult education, training of adult educators and other types of educational services, and with agencies responsible for the development of adult education in general.

- Efforts must be made to establish joint programmes with researchers at universities, colleges and autonomous institutions, particularly with a view to developing measures to meet the need for adult education research. It is natural that the universities concentrate on basic research and general researcher education, while the NVI and other institutions active in the field of adult education should adapt their research to fulfil the needs of the user group.

- The Norwegian Institute of Adult Education must seek contacts within the Nordic countries and the rest of the world."

The NVI was established as an interdisciplinany institute. It was never the intention that the NVI should be purely an institute of educational research; the aim was to achieve a broad base of expertise encompassing pedagogy, sociology and psychology. This aim is also reflected in the institute's recruitment policy. The number of research positions have remained stable for about 10 years. At present there are 13 positions. As from 1992 funds wlll be allocated for the first new position in eight years.

The NVI is directly subordinate to the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs. The Institute has its own executive committee which comprises representatives from employees' and employers' organizations (Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions ILO) and the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry (NHO)), the university and college system, the Norwegian Association of Adult Education Organizations, and the Adult Education Council (a decision has been made to dissolve this council).

The composition of the executive committee reflects the groups considered by the Minisery to play a central role in the field of adult education. The Ministry has taken a pragmatic approach in defining adult education as "the areas covered by the Adult Education Act".

The NVI's activities are financed through the Ministry's budget. In recent years the Ministry has also solicited the cooperation of other research groups such as the Norwegian Trade Union Centre for Social Science and Research (FAFO) and the Institute for Social Research In Industry (IFIM) In order to implement specific research projects.

Apart from this, the extent of adult education research conducted at universities and colleges in Norway is relatively modest. But we have noted a growing tendency for these institutions to apply for research grants through the Ministry's other research and development funds.

Since its foundation in 1977, the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education has conducted most of the research that has been done on adult education. Some persons claim that we have monopolized this research; at any rate, we have had few competitors or fellow workers in this field, a state of affairs we will deplore. We would be pleased to see a greater interest taken by the universities in research in the fields of education, sociology or psychology.

Adult education Human Resource Development.

The government authorities at the Ministry are not the only ones who have been unable to clarify exactly what is meant by adult education. We have not yet succeeded in establishing, on either a professional or a scientific basis, a clear definition of what we mean by adult education, or whether there are specific educational methods for teaching adults.

Adult education research is a realtively new phenomenon compared to the other established social sciences. That explains in part why there has been little progress as regards the development of theory in this field. This applies not only to Norwegan adult education research, but also to the contributions of international research on adult education. Moreover, I believe I am justified in maintaining that **the research has been conducted in close connection with practice In the field**, and that this too partly explains why adult education research has been so dominated by descriptive and empirical approaches. A third reason for this situation may lie in the fact that experts disagree as to whether the development of theory must take place independently or be based on a transfer of conepts and ideas from other disciplines.

The fact that so little emphasis is played on adult education in colleges and universities also has an impact on adult education research in the sence that adult education is not considered a separate discipline in Norway.

Both Sweden and Denmark now have professorships, but in Norway hardly any courses are offered at graduate study level and only a few scattered courses at basic subject level (e.g. at the University of Oslo and Alta Regional College).[1]

Some of the consequences of this situation have been:

- Low status for adult education research at universities
- Difficulties in recruiting researchers for the NVI.

To a certain extent, it is difficult to conduct comparative studies in an international context because we do not have a well-developed common framework of reference. The problem of countries having different concepts also reflects the diverse ways in which adult education is organized in the various countries. In this respect, comparative research between different countries is particularly difficult when it comes to adult education. Although the basic structure of the educational systems may be similar, we find far greater dissimilarities when it comes to the organization of adult education. This is regrettable because comparisons could provide us with valuable insight into the way adult education functions in different areas and the type of solutions that are chosen in specific circumstances.

Like research in education, adult education research is characterized by a lack of perspective and general knowledge. Research in the field of adult education has been dominated by descriptive studies and suffers from a lack of development as regards theory or concepts. One of the reason for this may lie in the fact that **experts have disagreed as to whether or not this is a separate discipline.** Furthermore, the field of study is relatively new compared to other social sciences.

To a certain extent, adult education research is closely related to and overlaps with general education research and research on working life. For those of us involved in adult education research, this means that we must strive to maintain contact with other groups engaged in closely related research.

The Programme for Educational Research was established a few years ago, but it proved to be extremely difficult to gain acceptance for the inclusion of adult education research in this research programme. This is yet another example of how difficult it is to categorize adult education research as a discipline.

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[1] Although adult education has not been defined as a subject for graduate level study, it may be noted that Norway too has acquired its first doctoral thesis on adult education. In 1989 sociologist Odd Norghaug was awarded his doctorate for studies largely conducted at the NVI.

Both nationally and internationally, adult education research has concentrated on a few specific problems, namely recruitment to and participation in adult education. Internationally, psychological studies have predominated (see Nordhaug 1989). The significance of external factors and circumstances for recruitment to adult education has, for example, played a lesser role in the research carried out in Norway too. Little attempt has been made to consider the question at the level of the organization or of society as a whole. **A recurring topic has been the study of individuals' reasons for participating in adult education.** At the risk of slight exaggeration, I might sum up the situation by saying that the lack of participation in adult education has been explained by the flaws and defects of the individuals. Lack of participation = lack of motivation - flaw, primarily a lack of motivation, in the individual. Researchers have to a far lesser degree considered the providers of adult education and examined their strategies and systems of recruitment. One exception in this connection is the NVI's study of adult education from the perspective of avaliability (Gullichsen, 1985).

In general, we may say that research has been characterized by a tendency to focus a critical eye on participants/non-participants rather than on the actual systems of recruitment. This may be related to the researchers' loyalty to certain user groups. Adult education research originated in and has been carried out in close connection with the field (i.e. those responsible for arranging adult education programmes). It is probably correct to assert that the providers have had a greater opportunity to influence the researchers' choice of problem to study than the participants.

Which topics have been dealt with in adult education research?

The first recruitment surveys were conducted in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970-8Os (E. Nilsen 1958, N. Finstad/H. Hansen 1976, P.O. Aamodt 1976). One factor common to all of these studies is that they revealed a social imbalance in participation in adult education. In drafting the Adult Education Act, therefore, considerable emphasis was placed on ensuring that adult education would help to promote greater social equality, of. Section 24. The goal and a number of the other fundamental principles embodied in the Adult Education Act became key topics of research for the NVI up to about the mid-1980s. While continuing its extensive recruitment surveys, the Institute researched a variety of topics such as participant influence and other questions relating to teaching methods and educational theory.

The most comprehensive educational study carried out at the NVI was begun during those early years, namely H Brattset's (1981) research on the study circle as a method of adult education. It was no coincidence that the **study circle** in particular became a key research topic, because the basic ideology and educational concepts reflected in the study circle are in many ways identical to the goal of democratization promoted in the Adult Education Act.

In the early 1980s research was primarily focused, on

- a) adult education as an instrument to achieve social equality (see, for example, Lund "Funksjonshemmedes plass i arbeidslivet" (The role of the Handicapped in Working Life), 1982, T. Lien "Kvalifisering til arbeid?" (Qualifications for Work?) 1984, and A.H. Gullichsen, "Voksenopplæring for utsatte grupper" (Adult Education for Disadvantaged groups) 1985), and,
- b) surveys of adult education programmes within the school system.

In the late 1980s, research at the NVI has gradually shifted towards educational programmes in connection with working life. The reason for this was partly the obvious increase in this type of programme and partly the demands expressed in public documents concerning the need to enhance the level of expertise in workIng life. Little research has been done in the field of workrelated education. According to the Work and Business Survey (FAFO 1989 unpublished), more than 30% of all employees take part in personnel training, and this type of training accounts for approximately 45% of all participation in adult education programmes.

It may be added, in this connection, that research on such key topics as competence-building in working life is being conducted at several other social science research centres. The public research programme LOS finances a number of these projects.

The NVI is a state institute with national obligations. This means that we have a responsibility to fulfil tasks which have political priority and we have clearly perceived competence-building in working life as an important target area.

Until the late the 1980s, a substantial portion of the NVI's research efforts was concentrated on the activities of voluntary study organizations. Almost two thirds of approxemately 90 NVI publications, have direct relevance for these organizations, or the topics have been of general interest to the field. A significant share of the efforts have, moreover, revolved around adult education within the school system, but relativaly little attention has been devoted to work-related adult education. However, this has also been typical of research in other countries for a number of years.

It is apparent from the report from the Nordic Conference of Researchers that research is being conducted on a very wide variety of topics ranging from reading and writing problems to educational needs within industry. Another characteristic of research in the Nordic countries is that the research has been dominated by studies evaluating legal statutes and new reforms. This is particularly apparent in Sweden. According to Rubenson, the Swedish findings, where the evaluation research/reports had, in his own view, become too narrow, have reflected an overly one-sided perspective. In my opinion, this is a problem we share with our Swedish colleagues. This has been one of the reasons why the NVI has seen a need to devote less time to researching problems that are directly more or less related to the Act. Nevertheless, it must emphasized that the main intentions of the Adult Education Act will continue to play a central role in the selection of research topics in the future.

Who are the users of adult education research?

- The Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs
- Administrators of adult education programmes at state, municipal and county level
- Participants in adult education programmes
- Decision-makers
- Other groups of experts
- Companies
- Trade~ unions

From the above it is clear that the users constitute a rather heterogeneous group with a variety of expectations when it comes to adult education research. It Is not at all certain that the expectations of the users are well-defined, and I see a number of potential conflicts of interests where research is concerned. To what extent do providers of adult education and the participants have common interests, and where do potential conflicts of interests lie?

The most regular user of our finding acording to our records, seems to be the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, which has made extensive use of our reports In all of its reports to the Storting and official reports on adult education .

Adult Education Research in Sweden.

The cognitive and social institutionalization of adult education research in Swedish academic institutions

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Abstract.

Ihis overview of research in adult and popular education in Sweden starts with theories of social and cognitive institutionalization of research and research communities and the growth and development of new interdisciplinary fields of research. Starting in a national bibliographical series (Bjerstedt, 1967,1975,1981,1984,1987,1990) recording educational research reports from academic research departments, I intend to give some comments on the development of adult education research.

Background.

This overview of research in adult and popular education starts with in theories of social and cognitive institutionalization of research and research communities and the growth and development of new interdisciplinary fields of research. Whitley (1974) defines the cognitive institutionalization as the definition of and criteria for scientific work. It consists of statements about the world and how to examine it, including the conceptual-theoretical creations and ideas about central areas of research. It defines interesting and fundamental problems and relevant results. It also influences methodological solutions and research strategies. This basic common knowledge gives the researcher a cognitive identity as a member of a specific cognitive structure.

The social institutionalization signifies creation and maintenance of formal social structures in order to demarcate the research society. A member with a social identity in a socially institutionalized research area may have access to scientific societies, scientific core journals, conferences and institutions and a common code of ethics. He/she communicates within a network of colleagues. A highly institutionalized research society there are academic institutions, full professors, research education with doctoral students, a research program and a continuous production of research articles/monographs.

In his work from 1984 Whitley develops his theories about organization of scientific work. He describes the development and establishment of modern sciences as reputational work organizations. Scientific knowledge can be seen as the product of social transformation of intellectually constructed objects, and scientific change is increasingly viewed as the outcome of social processes of negotiation, conflict, and competition.

I will use those theories as a framework and follow the development of an academic discipline, and describe some important research areas in adult education in Sweden today.(A similar Nordic project on the development of library and information research is performed, Klasson et al 1991).

Most of the Swedish basic and applied research in adult education takes place at university research departments. Most of the basic and applied research has been reported in research report series from university departments or research councils sponsoring adult or continuing education. Some of the research has been presented in international research journals and monographs. In my overview I will use a series of bibliographies on educational research at academic institutions in Sweden 1955-1989 produced by professor Åke Bjerstedt at the Department of Education and Psychology at the Teacher Training College in Malmö, University of Lund. All research recorded in official research report series on academic educational research is included in those bibliographies. Some of the bibliographies cover six year periods, others cover three year periods.

Some adult education research has been produced outside universities, for example at military research departments and organizations linked to the labour market and personnel administrative councils. R&D also takes place on folk high schools and study associations, usually on a lower research level. This research is not recorded in my overview, since it usually consists of exploratory studies on practical problems at specific folk high schools or study organizations. The results may serve as a data collection of questions to which the practitioners seek a solution, but give very little new knowledge about the development of scientific methods, strategies, and theories. Several overviews of adult education research area have been published for a Swedish audience - they are usually not in English or any other foreign language. Some of them part from a position closely related to their local research communities or covers only specific areas. Some of them describe a very short period of time. I have chosen a bibliographical source of information that covers production from all the adult education research departments at universities and teacher training colleges. The presentation below will cover almost forty years of the development of adult education research.

Sweden has a long tradition of producing governmental investigations as support for political decisions. Quite often research projects are performed in connection with the investigation work. In the field of adult education there has been public investigations on the free and voluntary popular education, on the folk high school as a phenomenon, municipal adult education, subsidiaries to adult learners, labour market education, and so on. Some of these investigations will be mentioned below.

Short overview of the institutionalization of adult education research in Sweden

19th century

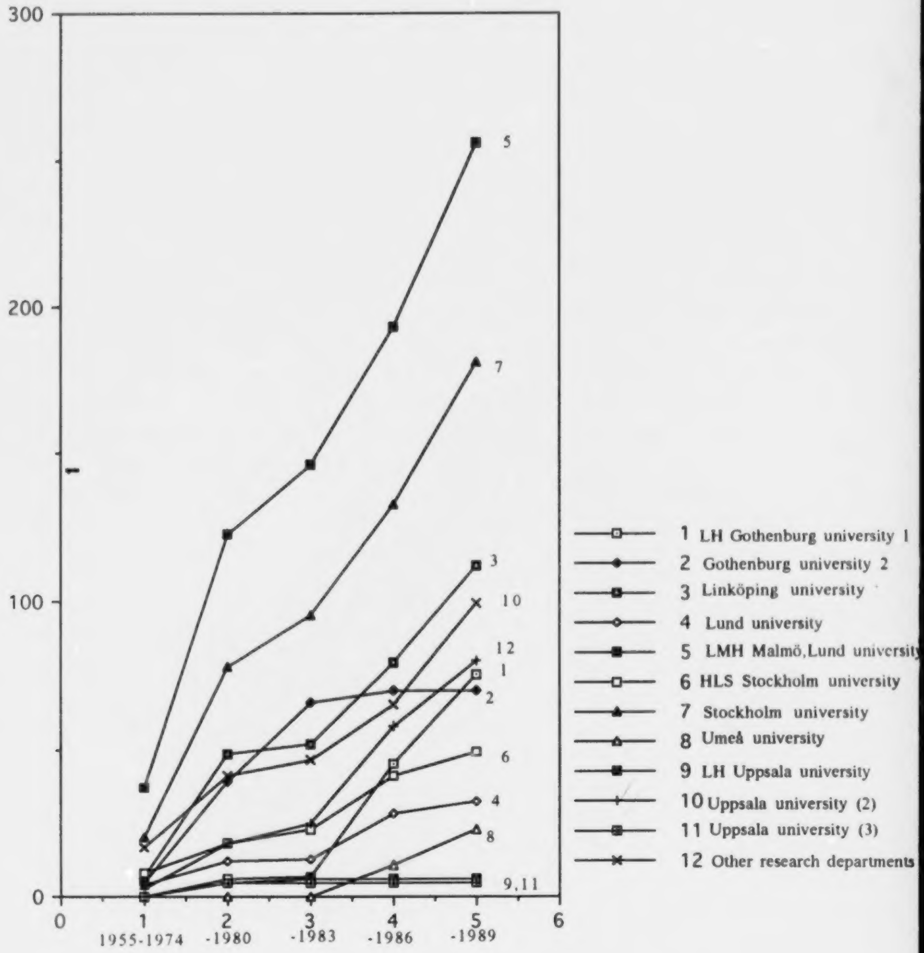
Institutions related to adult education in Sweden were founded early. 1833 associations started with the purpose to give series of public lectures on scientific subjects. The idea of libraries as a support system for adult reading and adult studies was strengthened in the School bill of 1842. The first study circle started 1845 and the first folk high school in 1868.

20th century

In the **1950:s** the first Adult Education Seminar was established in Stockholm (1953) by the National Board of Education, Folk university and a professor, Torsten Husen from the university, inviting both researchers and practitioners to studies in study circle form. The link between researchers and practitioners has been a characteristic feature for the scientific communication. Most of the conferences and seminars being held in Sweden have invited practitioners to join in the meetings. In the seminars adult educators met in form of a study circle to discuss goals, means and conditions of adult education in a modern society. Research and development work was performed, especially on study motivation of adult education participants and the effects of different methodologies. The training of adult educators and study circle leaders was a crucial question.

In the **1960:s** a small number of research projects were started. Usually adult education research was connected to teacher training departments as a means to develop a better knowledge of the special needs of adult learners. But until 1967 there was no research to be found under the descriptor "adult education" in the national bibliography on educational research published 1967 from the Department of Education and Psychology at Malmö Teacher training college. In the end of the decade a governmental investigation was presented on the municipal adult education (SOU 1965:60).

Table 1. Adult education research 1955-1989 presented in research reports from all Swedish educational research departments (Bjerstedt, 1967,1975, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990).



Please observe that the first two periods are six years long and the other periods only three years! The amount of documents are accumulated. In spite of this early start of adult education activities, no research on adult education is recorded until about a hundred years later. From historical studies we know that a few studies have been performed, I have myself in a Swedish content analysis of Library research 1900-1989 found some studies on public libraries as a resource in the free and voluntary popular education and on common people's reading habits.

In the **1970:s** the national public policy focused on adult education as a means to equality and the resources for research and development were increased. The share of adult education in R&D grants of the National Board of Education increased from 8% 1972 to 20% in 1978/79. All the important research departments in education at universities and teacher training colleges could show some research in adult education. Two more Adult Education Seminars were started: Malmö (1973) and Linköping (1978). In Malmö Teacher training College, Department of Education and Psychology, the initiative came from researchers together with adult educators at study associations, folk high schools, military education organizations, municipal adult education and others. Some Danish colleagues among adult educators took part in this seminar. The seminar was a travelling seminar: meetings took place at different participating organizations each time. Today we call it a network. 1978 Linköping Adult Education Seminar started with the same patterns for membership, activities and networking, as the Malmö seminar.

A few dissertations in the field of adult education are produced. Several of the educational research departments at the Swedish universities and Teacher training Colleges report research projects in the period 1969 - 1974 according to "Educational research in Sweden. A six-year bibliography" (Bjerstedt, 1975). Noted below a few examples:

At Gothenburg university studies are performed on the study situations of adult learners and on the benefits of participating in study circles.
In Malmö Teacher training college school the professional role of administrators/-leaders was analysed and job descriptions made up.
In Stockholm educational needs and educational barriers were analysed at the Teacher training college, while at the Department of education at the University a project about the pedagogics of the study circle was carried out.
At Linköping university researchers studied non formal adult education and municipal adult education.
Umeå university presented a dissertation about "folkskolan", the early general compulsory school, as a means to enable the national population to read.
Methodology and the pedagogics of adult education are typical research subjects.

In the **1980:s** the idea of continuing economic growth that dominated the 50:s and 60:s was replaced by the bitter knowledge that resources are limited. The surrounding society and its influence on adult education became a growing research area. Evaluations of the reforms in the field of adult education and the effects of different forms of support systems came into focus. The municipal education as well as the labour market training were subjects for research, reported in dissertations. Quantitative, but also qualitative studies on adults' learning processes, work conditions, learning in the place of work, recurrent education, changes in the local commercial and industrial life, personnel development, and so on showed the need for new qualifications and competences for people in the labour market in order to meet the new challenges of a less prosperous economy.

Research activities in adult education continued to grow. The National Board of Education being the major research council, supplied the funds for most of the adult educational research in Sweden although other research councils also shared the financing of adult education research. The popularization of research results was also supported by the National Board of education as a financing agency and the sponsor of publication series, conferences and databases. A lot of money was put into R&D work at Folk high schools (PUFF-projects) and study associations (PUST projects).

Conferences were usually organized inviting both researchers and practitioners(usually sponsored by the National Board of Education). Few conferences focused on research only. But in the middle of the decade a change took place. The first (and so far the only) chair in adult education in Sweden was established at Linköping university 1982 and the first professor started to work 1984. As a result a concentration of resources in adult education research was allocated to Linköping. It became some kind of centre for a network of adult education researchers in Sweden. As another result of the new academic chair, the research education in adult education was strengthened by an increase in doctoral students, adult education corses, seminars, visiting researchers, etc. In Linköping a teacher training college for folk high school teacher had been situated since the beginning of the 70:s.

A national Centre for Adult Educators was established. The cooperation between researchers and practitioners was a continuing tradition. Library research within the field of adult education was growing. The number of dissertations in the field of adult education increased to more than thirty. Still there was no national research journal in adult education. Researchers published their research in reports and monographs from their university departments. To some degree international journals and publishing companies were used as source of publication.

The cognitive institutionalization of the research area was made visible by an increase in documents with a theoretical approach. They were characterized by their content that not primarily produced useful knowledge for the practitioners, but created new theories, models, research strategies, frameworks and methods. The connection to international research was strengthened. Several overviews on the adult education research appeared (for example Rubenson, 1984; Arvidson, 1987; Borgström, 1989-90).

The historical research strategies had increased, probably as a result of the institutionalization of the research area. When a new area is established a need for knowledge about the roots is growing. If we compare the development of adult education research with the newly established library research in Sweden, the same growing interest for historical studies can be noted. The study of educational traditions produced several dissertations. Adult education organizations: the folk high school and the study circle and the entrepreneurs in the past, were analyzed. The historical development of concepts like "adult education" and "popular education" was explored. The idea of adult education as a power and a force in the struggle for democracy, equality and a better society for everyone.prodused reports. The educational activities in relation to popular and social movements, labour unions gained a growing interest.

In the **1990:s** national, Nordic and international research conferences, as well as networks are initiated and a year-book about research within Nordic adult- and popular education will be started with the first number to be distributed in the beginning of the year 1992. In the summer of 1990 a national, multidisciplinary programme of research in popular education was established with its administrative centre at Linköping university. It gathers researchers from several research institutions at almost all universities in Sweden in a network called Mimer. (Mimer was a the well of wisdom of the Nordic saga from which you could drink). The National board of Education has been reorganized, and replaced by the National Agency for Education, whose responsibilities are more restricted.

The research area is cognitively and socially established. While the research methods in the 50:s and 60:s consisted mostly of exploratory studies with a lot of statistics nowadays several studies originate from a humanistic research tradition containing historical research strategies, or qualitative research, e.g. phenomenography. There are few examples of participatory research in research projects performed in developing countries.

The publishing patterns are more complex, the representation of Swedish research articles in international research journals and monographs have expanded rapidly, as well as research published in a foreign language. Several researchers communicate with international research departments and organizations and cooperate when it comes to publishing matters and administering conferences.

The research areas have widened. By counting the frequency of descriptors related to adult education in the bibliographical series we will find the following development:

Table 2. An overview of descriptors used in the bibliographical series on research reports on educational research in Swedish (Bjerstedt, 1967,1975, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990).

	1955-66	1969-74	1975-80	1981-86	1987-89	1989-92 *)
Adult education		89	145	98	63	126
Vocational training		1	39	34	19	38
Women's employment		2	2	20	19	38
Adults			12	11	8	16
job analyses,-design		26 26	26			
Labour market,-training			30	53	20	40
Lifelong education			21			
Recurrent education			11		12	24
Work environment, conditions, -satisfaction			20	16	46	92
Recruitment				28		
Continuing education				26		
Folk high school				9	8	16
Leadershiptraining, personnel development ,staffdevelopment, team work work				75	39	78
lifelong learning					9	18
older adults					7	14
study circle					3	6

*The bibliography ends with the years 1987-89. I have produced a prognoses by double the values of 1987-89.

Until 1966 no descriptor with an adult education connection were recorded. In the period 1969-1974 three descriptors were recorded: adult education, vocational training and women's employment. In the next period,1975-1980, those three descriptors had increased, but we had also sex new descriptors: adults, job analyses/-design, labour market training, -education, lifelong education, recurrent education and work environment/-conditions/-satisfaction. In the next period 1981-1986 seven more descriptors were added to those mentioned before: recurrent education had fallen out in favour of continuing education, personnel development, staff development, leadership training, team work, folk high school. In the last three years recorded 1987-1989 lifelong education had been changed to lifelong learning, and the descriptors older adults and study circle had been added. We can find that although the Swedish study circle has been a well established feature in the Swedish adult education since the 19th century and a research object since the 1970:s it had not been looked upon as a research area. If we examine the descriptors we can conclude that research on working life, labour market training, vocational training and personnel development are important parts of the Swedish adult education research area today.

The future

In the last decade of the 20:th century the Swedish adult education research has reached a level of almost complete social and cognitive institutionalization.

Examining the on-going research we may predict several factors influencing the Swedish research in adult education today:

- New technology. The polytechnic development, an ideal for the future in the popular education of the early century, did not bring only prosperity, it will also cause many people to take adult education courses in order to get new jobs in a changing working life. The new information technology will change methodologies and break down national barriers in the communication.
- The way of examining organizations and learning in working life. The rational organization has become an organizational culture or a multicultural setting, with ambitions to grow in depth if not in size, and with the goal to develop new competences.
- New political structures in Europe, where adult education research will increase knowledge about new markets, the international labour market, multicultural environments, other educational systems.
- Social barriers will remain. Even in Sweden, where more people take part in adult education then in most other countries, we have failed to motivate the low educated to take part in adult education. Bourdieus' theories about the importance of a good cultural capital

seem to be true. Evaluative research on the effects of educational reforms and adult education activities will continue.

New forms for creating opinion. The new social movements have to some extent changed from seeking collective knowledge in order to change the society seeking for knowledge for individual gain. Research on the social movements role for social change, democracy and adult education will continue.

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DENMARK

The Participants' Outcome of Courses for Long-term Unemployed: a Quasi experimental Study.

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Abstract

In an evaluation of Danish evaluation programme for unemployed persons a quasi experimental method was used.

The results of the evaluation showed that variables such as correspondance with the demands on the local labour market, extensive guidance and carreer planning, in-service training, length, cross-institutionally planning, and degree of homogenity among the participants had no marked influence on the outcome. However a correlation between high involvement and optimistic expectations and the outcome was found.

In 1988 as a combat against unemployment the Danish government and the opposition launched an act, in everyday speech the "UTB/ATB-Act." UTB means UddannelsesTilBud, that is "offer of education". ATB means ArbejdsTilBud, that is "offer of temporary job". The UTB/ATB-Act is until now the most extensive unemployment programme in Denmark. The essence of the act is that it seeks to combine education and temporary jobs: After a certain period of unemployment the unemployed person is offered a temporary job or a course. Participating in a course is obligatory meaning that if the unemployed person refuses to participate he will loose his right to receive unemployment relief.

The act is being tried out for a period of four years (1989-1992). In 1990, as part of this experimental period, the Ministry of Labour launched a comprehensive evaluation of the UTB/ATB programme comprising altogether five evaluations which have been carried out by different institutions.

As one of the evaluations the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies and the Danish Research and Development Centre for Adult Education were given the task of evaluating the courses in the educational part of the programme, (the UTB). The evaluation ran for a year and was finished by the first of September, 1991.

The main purpose of the evaluation was to estimate to which extent variables in the courses influence the participants' outcome. The variables concern the planning of and teaching in the courses.

Methodological procedure

The evaluation has been carried out as a quasi experiment: One variable has been studied while the other variables have been held constant.

The method seeks to point more precisely to the variables which influence the outcome than is normally done in Danish evaluations of educational programs. Typically, evaluations of that kind lack the possibility of a precise description of the significance of specific variables. Explanations of the outcome will then be in the risk of expressing the researcher's - before hand- favourite ideas about which variables influence the outcome.

The variables which have been studied

With the aim of thoroughly estimating the significance of specific variables it has been necessary to focus on only a few variables and consequently on the most central variables.

The choice of variables rests on various assumptions about which variables would especially influence the outcome of the course. As concerns the courses within the UTB-programme the assumptions are that the participants' outcome will improve if :

1. The courses correspond to the demands on the local labour market.
2. The courses contain extensive guidance and career planning activities.
3. The courses contain a period of in-service training.
4. The courses are long (more than 24 weeks).
5. The courses are planned cross-institutionally with a combination of vocational and general topics.
6. Each course is run for a homogeneous group of participants (as concerns educational, personal and social background).

Selection of courses

A mapping of the around 800 courses which were run in 1990 was made. The mapping is a description of the planning of the courses as concerns the central variables, that is the variables which are included in the assumptions mentioned above. Among the 800 courses 49 courses were selected to fulfil the criterion of investigating one variable at a time. The procedure was as follows:

1. Four types of courses:

Four types of courses were generated from the two variables: "correspondence with the labour market" and "the amount of guidance and career planning activities". The variables were dichotomous and the wording of the four types were:

Type 1: Courses which correspond to the demands on the local labour market and contain extensive guidance and career planning activities.

Type 2: Courses which correspond to the demands on the local labour market and which contain less extensive guidance and career planning activities.

Type 3: Courses which do not correspond to the demands on the local labour market and which contain extensive guidance and career planning activities.

Type 4: Courses which do not correspond to the demands on the local labour market and which contain less extensive guidance and career planning activities.

Courses which correspond to the demands on the local labour market fulfil the following criteria:

1. The person responsible for the planning of the course is able to point to where the needs for jobs exist on the local labour market.

2. Furthermore he is able to describe in what way the contents of the course corresponds to the formulated demands of labour.

Courses which contain extensive guidance and career planning activities fulfil the following criteria:

1. The guidance and career planning activities include training in writing applications for jobs.

2. The activities include the establishing of contact clubs which run after the end of the course.

3. The activities **during the course** have a duration of at least 40 hours.

Apart from the two variables the four types of courses must be selected to be as much alike as possible. In order to select the number of courses within each type which will secure the validity of the results, it was necessary to choose the variables which should be held constant. The variables which were held constant were the ones which were assumed to bear the most important influence on the effect. These variables to a certain extent correspond to the variables which are included in the assumptions mentioned above. The variables which were held constant were:

1. In-service training. (All courses contained in-service training).

2. Length. (All courses were of the same length).

3. The formal teacher qualifications. (In all courses the teachers had the same formal qualifications for teaching unemployed).

4. The group of participants. (In all courses the constellation of the group of participants was alike).

Furthermore only courses within two of the fourteen Danish councils were selected. This is due to the influence that variations in the unemployment rate may have locally.

2. In-service training, length, cross-institutionalisation, and homogeneity:

Within each of the four types described above it was possible to compare courses which differ on one of the other variables which are included in the assumptions: in-service training, length, cross-institutional planning, and homogeneity. As an example courses were chosen which were alike type 4-courses but which only differed as concerns length. Thus short courses (13 weeks) were compared to middle-long courses (16 weeks) and to long courses (24 weeks).

Definition of the outcome measured

The ultimate aim of the courses is that the participants obtain permanent occupation. However, no matter how efficient the courses the rate of unemployment is still too high to make it possible for everybody to obtain permanent occupation.

The aim of the courses has accordingly been softened to be that the participants improve their possibilities on the labour market. Interpreting "to improve ones possibilities on the labour market" has resulted in a rather broad definition of the outcome to include:

- obtaining of permanent occupation, - embarking on further education
- motivation for seeking job or further education - improving of self-confidence, and
- engaging in new activities together with friends, family, at home, or in the leisure time.

Results

Measuring the outcome of the defined types of courses showed that it has no marked influence on the outcome which has been studied whether the courses
- correspond to the demands on the local labour market or not,
- contain extensive guidance and career planning activities or not,
- contain in-service training or not,
- are long, middle-long, or short,
- are planned cross-institutionally to combine vocational and general topics or not, or
- are run for a homogeneous group of participants or not.

The results are surprising and they seriously question the procedure of planning the courses. Of course it must be mentioned that the results are only valid for the variables which have been studied. However, these variables are central for the planning of courses for the unemployed. Furthermore it might be that including other types of outcome would lead to other results.

The results give rise to one important question: As the variables which have been studied do not bear any marked influence on the outcome what does really influence the outcome?

A study of the teaching in the courses

In order to be able to point to variables which might influence the outcome of the courses a further study was included in the evaluation. The aim of this part of the evaluation was to study the actual teaching in the courses. That is the relation between the teaching in the courses and the participants' progress and outcome.

It was assumed that the higher the involvement among the participants during the course the more positive the participants' expectations about their outcome of the courses and the better the participants' actual outcome.

Consequently the aim of the study was to compare:

1. Classes with a high degree of involvement with classes with a low degree of involvement in relation to the development of the participants' expectations of their outcome.

2. Classes with a high degree of involvement with classes with a low degree of involvement in relation to the participants' outcome.

Methodological procedure

Eight courses which were similar to the 49 courses mentioned above as concerns the planning of the course and the group of participants were selected.

At the beginning of the course the participants answered a questionnaire about what they expected from participating in the course. The questions concerned whether the course would lead to a job or to further education, whether the participant would become more self-confident, whether the participant would learn anything new within his trade, whether he would obtain new general knowledge, or whether the course would not lead to any outcome at all. To each of these possibilities the participants were asked to answer "agree", "partly agree" or "do not agree".

After three fourth of the course the participants were asked to answer another questionnaire about what they would expect from a similar course if they were to embark upon one "today". The questions were similar to the ones mentioned above.

In the same questionnaire the participants were asked about their outcome of the course.

During the run of the courses observiews were made in all the courses twice: Observations of the teaching were combined with interviews with the teacher and the students. The aim was to categorize the courses as either "highly involved" courses or "less involved" courses.

A course would be categorized as highly involved if more than 80 percent of the students were active that is asked questions, took part in discussions, or committed themselves to various tasks. Furthermore if the participants expressed that they enjoyed participating in the course.

From the results of the observiews it was possible to divide the eight courses into five which were highly involved and three which were less involved.

Results

The study shows that participants who participate in highly involved courses to a greater extent express optimistic expectations at the beginning of the course than participants in the less involved courses. This indicates that involvement might be a question of how optimistic the participants are at the beginning of the course. If the participants' expectations are relatively optimistic they will involve themselves more in the course.

However, the results also show that participants in the highly involved courses turn relatively just as pessimistic during the course as participants in the less involved courses. Thus participating in a highly involved course does not lead to more optimism as concerns the participants' possibilities after the course. This might however also be interpreted positively to indicate that participation makes the participants more realistic as concerns their future possibilities.

Looking at the participants' outcome the results show a correlation between participating in highly involved courses and the outcome. For all types of outcome which have been studied the participants obtain a better outcome from participating in highly involved courses than from participating in less involved courses.

With the assumption that optimistic expectations bear an important influence on the degree of involvement, it is assumed that optimistic expectations positively influence the participants' outcome.

Conclusion

The evaluation of the courses within the educational programme for unemployed (UTB) includes a study of the planning of the courses and a study of the teaching in the courses.

The evaluation shows that none of the variables concerning the planning of the courses markedly influence the participants' outcome of the courses.

However, looking at the teaching in the courses and the participants' progress it turns out that a combination of optimistic expectations at the beginning of the course and the participants' involvement during the run of the course significantly influence the outcome.

Consequently it is not very important how the courses are planned but it is important to stimulate the participants' expectations and work on a high degree of involvement.

General Qualification of Unskilled and Semi-skilled Workers

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Abstract

The Adult Education Research Group at Roskilde University has for some years in practice and theory worked with the problem how by means of short professionally oriented courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers to strengthen personal qualities such as flexibility, independence, and responsibility. The article summarizes the tentative results regarding development of a conceptual framework concerning general qualifications, how courses can be adequately organized and carried out, the necessary conditions for their success, and the problem of qualifying professional teachers for such activities. These tentative results are at the same time a platform for a more extensive research project starting up in 1992.

The Adult Education Research Group at Roskilde University is a working group of researchers who deal with development assignments, course tuition, consultancy, evaluation and research projects mainly in the form of client paid services (work done by public bodies paid for by private customers). In 1987 the group was established by 4 researchers within the framework of the Department of Educational Research; today the group has an independent status and a staff of 14.

The main emphasis in the work of the group has been within the educational and training activities of the trade unions, adult vocational training programmes and the in-service training programmes of firms and organizations. Later additions have been an Open University programme in general adult pedagogy, and development and training assignments in the public sector.

The group's research activities have been closely related to the educational systems we have been dealing with. In the following I shall restrict my observations to our work regarding the general none-professional qualification of unskilled and semiskilled workers that has taken place in connection with our engagement in state adult vocational training programmes. From 1992 this will take the form of a special research project with separate financing.

In 1988 the group was contacted by the Directorate for Adult Vocational Training Programmes (now a part of the National Labour Market Authority) with a request to provide guidance in connection with the modernization of the so-called AMU courses, the state-run adult vocational training courses. The background to this was an internal report that emphatically pointed to a need to strengthen and renew the general qualification process that is a part of the courses (Directorate for Adult Vocational Training Programmes 1988).

In brief the main point of this was how by means of short, professionally oriented courses it would be also possible to strengthen and develop a number of personal qualities such as flexibility, independence, responsibility, the ability to cooperate and the ability to think analytically, qualities that are of crucial importance in modern production also in the case of unskilled manual labour.

In this way we were faced with a concretization and a practical challenge in an area that, since the beginning of the 1970s, has occupied a central position in more theoretical research both as regards the development in societal qualification requirements and within occupational pedagogy (Illeris et al 1976, Salling Olesen 1989).

The practical initiatives we have been involved in include developing, carrying out and evaluating adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, developing and carrying out courses for teachers in project teaching and in an integrated field of general subjects having to do with work place and labour market conditions, as well as drawing up new framework plans and pedagogical guidelines for the teaching.

From the point of view of research this work has manifested itself in three connected fields of problems that we have constantly worked with as a sort of parallel research to the practical work and which in the future will be the central points in an independent research project.

In the first place developing adequate and well-founded definitions and concepts about general qualifications as such, and in particular when it is a case of unskilled labour.

Secondly how teaching can be organized and carried out that is able to appropriately develop such qualifications in a manner that satisfies the participants.

And thirdly how teachers with technical training and careers as technical teachers can be equipped to develop and carry out such teaching.

In addition to this the practical work of development and the relevant research involves us to an increasing extent as suppliers of input to the more general process of political decision-making in the area.

What are general qualifications?

With regard to the conceptual framework concerning general qualifications, the original National Labour Market Authority report took its point of departure in the difference between process dependent and process independent qualifications, introduced by the German industrial sociologists Horst Kern and Michael Schumann in one of the first large-scale empirical investigations of qualifications. (Kern & Schumann 1970). But already at this point this division was found too unnuanced and a tripartite division into specific, general and personal qualities was proposed (Directorate for Adult Vocational Training Programmes 1988).

Our own theoretical ballast goes back to a number of German Marxist theoreticians from the beginning of the 1970s (Altvater et al 1971, Huisken 1972, Masuch 1972, Otten 1973) whom we have worked more with in different contexts in the interim (Illeris et al 1976, Illeris 1981, Salling Olesen 1989).

Against this background we can now draw up four main categories of qualificatlons:

1. **Basic wage-earner qualifications** which have to do with accepting as a matter of course the basic conditions for wage labour including the status of labour as a commodity at the disposal of the employer within the agreed time limits and the right of the employer to dispose of the results of the labour, and the "free" labour market as the regulating mechanism that decides who gets work and the conditions for this. The whole structure of our society today is based on the labour force possessing this qualification to a sufficient degree and, historically, our school system has been developed to ensure that this is the case together with familial socialization, the mass media etc. But in recent years new problems have arisen in connection with this basic qualification in particular among the ranks of the newly arrived workers for whom there is "no room" at the moment on the labour market. In this way the meaning of this otherwise "natural" qualification (again) becomes specifically visible and to a large extent, unemployment policy can be interpreted as attempts to maintain this qualification also in the case of the threatened groups that are at risk. In the adult vocational training

courses we also meet participants who do not accept the basic conditions of wage labour as a matter of course.

2. **The specific technical qualifications** understood as the manual and intellectual characteristics which are a direct and visible part of carrying out the individual jobs. The immediate needs for these qualifications are thus job-dependent; traditionally it has been the primary aim of the adult vocational training courses to facilitate the swift, cheap and flexible development of the specific qualifications needed in accordance with current vocational development for those workers who cannot draw on broad professional qualifications.

3. **The general qualifications** which today include the whole of the broad spectrum of knowledge and skills one must have now to be able to function in a satisfactory manner both on the labour market and outside of it. This includes the basic cultural techniques in Danish and mathematics and, to an increasing extent, in foreign languages and data processing; it also includes a certain level of orientation in how society and existence in general function. This is typically the traditional knowledge contained in the orientation subjects of the primary school supplemented with more orientation about conditions of working life. The borderline between general and specific qualifications can be vague as some qualifications can be included as prerequisites not just for single job functions but over a broader field that cuts across subjects and lines of industry. The basic modules of the adult vocational training courses contain under the heading of "general subjects" a requirement of 2 weeks' teaching in all: this can include both a work-oriented updating within the cultural techniques previously mentioned and also orientation teaching with main emphasis on conditions of working life. It was problems in connection with pupils' and teacher' interest in this teaching that provided the impetus for the modernization of general qualifications within the National Labour Market Authority area.

4. **Personal qualities** where for the moment we are keeping the description from the 1988 National Labour Market Authority report for an area of qualification that noticeably is of increasing importance in business life. This appears, as previously mentioned, from several qualification surveys; it can also be seen from quite ordinary job advertisements. What is new is today that requirements as to these personal qualities are made not only of executives, middle-managers and functionaries, but of all level of employees. In a business community that is taking on the character of a differentiated mass-production of goods and services with increasingly advanced technology and complexity, and with competition as regards price, quality, marketing and conditions of

> delivery, it becomes more and more important that the individual worker on the level of the shop floor acts suitably and reliably, and e.g. reacts in accordance with the interests of the enterprise in the unforseen situations that experience says will arise even in the most carefully planned processes. Everything has to function, and the worker who is the cause of a mistake or a stop of production through ignorance, carelessness or irritation can be the source of great expense. In addition the same personal qualities will also be increasingly necessary if the individual is to be able to take care of daily reproduction in the complicated and in many ways threatened daily life outside of the workplace. This includes retaining one's own capacity to function and any contribution one might make to raising new labourers.

Although we are working with these four basic categories for the moment, it is with the understanding that their presence or absence, their development or blockage in the individual to an ever-increasing extent take place in a process of interaction that crosses the categories. This is both because of the increasing complexity of society as a whole and because qualification requirements in the workplace manifest themselves in a multi-faceted way.

Previously a given technical qualification to a higher degree could be isolated so that it could be determined whether a given worker possessed this qualification, and when and where it should be used. Now, however, the situation is rather that the crucial issue is to which extent and in what way the worker has the qualification, i.e. typically if the worker cannot merely carry out but also "understand" the process in question and is positively engaged as a kind of "representative" for its function in the process as a whole. This finds expression e.g. when the process is part of a more complicated cooperation, when processes must regularly be converted, or in the previously-mentioned unforseen situations where the worker must act quickly and independently.

In these situations mastery of the technical qualification is embedded in a pattern that to a greater or lesser extent includes all four categories, and an insufficiency of the one kind or the other in one of the other areas, a lack of understanding of how the qualification is part of the whole, a lack of desire to transcend the traditional ways it has been used, a lack of identification with the vital interests of the enterprise in the situation, any insufficiency in the whole can become the fatal factor which in any given situation can render the technical qualification in itself worthless.

Naturally this must give rise to fresh thinking about the development, also from the point of view of education and training, of the technical and general professional qualifications. The interest and problems are mainly assembled around the fourth qualification category: "personal qualities". Because on the one hand these qualities appear as more and more central for the utilization of the qualification profile of the individual, and on the other hand it is rather complicated to understand what it is all about. What are the criteria for judging if a person is "independent" or "responsible"? Can such qualifications be strengthened or developed through teaching? If so, how, and what does this demand of the teachers?

To put it rather bluntly, at the moment everyone is talking about the "soft" qualifications, some people are also trying to do something about them, but there is nobody who really knows what is necessary.

Having been active for some years, both theoretically and practically with this problem within the area of the Adult Vocational Training System, we now have an idea of a way forward. Despite the fact that one can work with the category of "personal qualities", there is a great difference between the nature of these qualities and thus also the way they interact with other qualifications and how they can be strengthened through education and training.

Thus we are now working with a division of the category of "personal quallties" in the five following sub-categories:

a) **individual functions,** typically covered by such words as independence, self-confidence and creativity, and centered around the ability of the individual to function independently, not least in unforeseen situations;

b) **social functions,** typically covered by such words as ability to cooperate and communicate, and centered around the ability of the individual to function together with others;

c) **cognitive functions,** typically covering awareness, imagination, the potential to make precise and nuanced observations, to think logically and analytically, to plan and evaluate, centered around the capacity of the individual for rational behaviour;

d) **motivational functions** covered by words such as initiative, dynamics, get up and go, openness, willingness to learn, adaptibilty etc. and centered around the potential of the individual to follow and participate in the "development". (The frequently used category of "flexibility" is often used as a cover term for this area but often crosses over into other functions also);

e) **self-control functions** covered by words such as responsibility, reliability, endurance, accuracy, ability to concentrate, quality and service orientation centered around the inclination and capacity of the individual to act in accordance with general rules.

Even though this is also a case of extensive interaction and significant overlaps, these five categories must to a certain extent be understood and treated separately if it is to be possible to deal with them in practice. For instance this has to do with two very central areas which must be included in any thinking in this field.

In the first place when the relationship between development and blockage is to investigated. It is also important to work with this dimension in order to understand other types of qualifications: in the case of personal qualities it is completely unavoidable. This is because a lack of ability to function in one or more of the areas mentioned could be equally due to the function in question being blocked as to it not being developed. For instance this can to a high degree apply to the individual and social functions and it is clearly of great pedagogical importance the extent to which it is a case of developing new potentials or getting rid of blockages.

In the second place when one enters into the relationship between potentials and interests. For example hmctions of self-control and motivation can to a high degree be present as potentials which are displayed in some connections but not in others according to the interests of the person in question. And what is the use of wanting to "teach" someone openness or responsibility with a vocational objective if conditions on the workplace are such that the person in question is not interested in mobilizing such potentials?

Further work with general qualification, including not least with personal qualities, must therefore include a more nuanced view of the different types of qualifications and an understanding that qualifications are not just something one develops. They are in fact human qualities that enter as integrated elements into far bigger units which in the final analysis are deeply embedded in the situation and whole life history of the individual.

General qualification throu h education

From the point of view of teaching, the conclusion in the above-mentioned report from the National Labour Market Authority was that the required strengthening of the process-independent qualifications could best be promoted by introducing the form of project teaching to the adult vocational training courses (AMU courses) to the extent that it was possible. It was, however, clear that using project teaching might pose particular problems: because of the relatively weak school background of the participants; because of technical teachers' lack of training in this area; and finally because of the relatively short duration of the courses which usually lasted from one to three weeks.

It was precisely with a view to introducing the form of project teaching that the Adult Education Research Group was involved in the work. We are able to draw on both many years of theoretical-methodological experience and on practical experience with using this form in a number of different training courses and lines of education including vocational training (Illeris 1981, Berthelsen et al 1985).

We started in the winter of 1988-89 with some practical experiments, implemented in selected traditional courses in cooperation with some selected AMU technical teachers. Since then a great number of highly varied experiments have been carried out by technical teachers within all the branches of the AMU in connection with a series of teacher training courses which we have organized (Borgnakke et al 1990).

The first and most fundamental general result of these experiments has been the establishment of the fact that it is indeed possible to work meaningfully with the project form within the current framework conditions on the adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Moreover, in the great majority of cases the participants evaluate this form of work as more satisfactory and committing. As a rule the teachers find that it provides better learning processes and results and they are often surprised at how much the participants can manage on their own when they are given the opportunity. However, it must be emphasized that in the case of both teachers and participants these are completely subjective evaluations and there have not been resources available for further investigations in this area.

Furthermore, as in other areas of education, some methodological experiences have emerged as to how the form of project teaching can most suitably be adapted to the special conditions of the adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

In the first place, in these adult vocational training courses, the written problem formulation drawn up by the participants - one of the most crucial elements in the more bookish and academic training lines of education, can more suitably take the form of a project introduction which has the character of a motivated plan for the project.

Other experiences indicate the importance of a brief introductory phase that involves the participants actively, the closest possible connection between the practical and theoretical work, regular stocktaking as a support in the participant directed course, as well as a serious supplementary process involving the practical contents, the process and the personal benefit.

The fact that the participants are satisfied with the course of the project is, however, not the same as saying that it also leads to a strengthening of the process independent qualifications and especially the development of the above-mentioned personal qualities that were the reason for utilizing this form of work. On the basis of our experience so far, we have tentatively drawn up the following three conditions which, as a minimum, must be met if the personal qualities are to be developed.

> Firstly, the personal qualities must be included in the teaching. This must take place in connection with the problems that the participants experience as relevant in their work situation in the wide sense and which are simultaneously of personal importance for them.
>
> Secondly, these qualities (such as independence, ability to cooperate, and sense of responsibility) must be challenged during the course by means of situations and influences that reach beyond the level of the daily routine and the usual, habitual ideas.
>
> And thirdly, the experiences must be made conscious by the individual participant.

These three conditions, which can be fulfilled by means of the pedagogical organization and implementation of the projects, must be regarded as necessary prerequisites if the desired development is to take place. But it cannot be concluded as a matter of course that these conditions are sufficient. What is being planned is personal development processes, the course of which for the individual will always also be decided by a number of conditions that extend far beyond the current pedagogical field. On the more general level, these personal conditions first and foremost have to do with the following:

- whether the individual participant in the situation in question displays a readiness to engage him or herself in such a process of development;

- whether the person in question experiences that he/she can get something subjectively important and valuable out of becoming engaged in the process of development;

- whether a space of action exists for the individual at the place of work or within the horizon of future job opportunities where changed readiness can find expression and achieve meaning.

Or put more directly: if the individual does not experience that the development of personal qualities that is aimed at in the teaching can have any real meaning for his or her situation and work opportunities, it is unlikely that even the best planned project teaching can make him/her show the commitment that is a necessary prerequisite for crossing boundaries with regard to personal qualities.

On the other hand, as a working hypothesis one can reasonably draw up an inverted rule of thumb: if relevant activities are offered in the teaching and if the individual experiences that he/she can become qualified here in a personally satisfying way, then the possibility also exists of achieving development of the relevant personal qualities.

Such a view of these activities is also of importance for us from the point of view of the ethics of research. It puts into perspective the possibilities for manipulative personality development in the interest of the employer, trade and industry or society that the problem about the process independent qualifications can imply. If the demands about the acceptance and conscious approval of the individual are taken seriously, in principle such manipulation is blocked.

Finally it should be pointed out that although we have found it both possible and meaningful to work with these issues within the existing framework of the adult vocational training courses, it is clear that these possibilities could be significantly improved through changes in the framework conditions.

The Adult Vocational Training System has started to do this in many areas. This takes place partly through a project where the emphasis is on description of abilities rather than subject matter which replaces the former detailed guidance material for the implementation of the courses, and leaves the detailed planning of the courses to the individual Adult Vocational Training Centres, the teachers and the participants. It also takes place through a very comprehensive further training course for the teachers.

The next and very important step which is being started up with experiments within individual lines of industry will be longer, coherent courses which can provide important new pedagogical possibilities not least for the work with the process independent qualifications.

Teachers' training courses

In the area of teacher training we have been involved in a series of further training courses in project teaching and in some experimental courses that aim to provide relatively new AMU teachers with a coherent qualification to teach within the general subject areas of labour market conditions, the working environment, cooperation, social legislation, technological change and industrial economics.

Our most important practical-methodological experience in this area has resided in the value of systematically planning a process of interaction for the teachers between course participation, trying out in practice the benefit gained from the courses in their own teaching, and working on the experiences thus gained at the next course, sometimes as an introduction to yet another process of interaction.

Naturally this type of process is not new (even though it is used much too seldom). But by combining it with the form of project work so that the introductory project phases are in the course, implementation in the teacher's own practice and presentation, evaluation and supplementary work again at a course we have achieved good results within the narrow time framework that has existed.

In another Adult Vocational Training System connection we have had a completely different framework and therefore opportunities to take part in a teacher-training course with a more far-reaching perspective. This is the so-called P 47 project, a one-year training course with a combination of general and specialist subjects aimed at unemployed women and based on a high degree of participant direction and project teaching and including trainee periods (Salling Olesen & Rams0e 1991).

The teacher training course has been integrated in this large-scale, pioneer project of pedagogical development. This has been the source of breadth and depth in the process of qualification and, in many cases, has led to some clear personal steps forward in understanding and attitude that only rarely are achieved in connection with more limited course activities.

A further perspective in this connection would seem to be to make the rather comprehensive teacher training courses, whicl- must as a matter of course take place in a system where the teachers recruited are specialists with no pedagogical background, approximate to the experiences of the P 47 project. This could, for instance, take place through some sort of coordination of specialist, general and pedagogical further training where the teachers become engaged in pedagogical development activities chosen by themselves. Developments at present within the Adult Vocational Training System would actually seem to indicate that the system will take steps in this direction which can open exciting new perspectives.

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Problems and Potentials in Danish Adult Education

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Abstract

The article presents recent empirical studies on Danish adult education combined with general reflections on the state, problems and prospects of adult education and popular enlightenment in Denmark. Figures for actual participation as well as wishes for future participation are presented. The unique and personal character of the benefit of adult education is exemplified and discussed. The current educational-didactical problems of Danish adult education are presented.

The Participants and Their Subjects

This paper highlights the current characteristics of Danish adult education. It is based on a number of empirical studies.(1) In the domain of adult education, Danes can be divided into three distinct groups. One group participates actively, choosing one or more of society's many educational offerings. This active category comprises 1.2 million adults, or about 30% of Denmark's entire adult population. The second group, also about 30%, expresses a desire to participate in adult education, but for various reasons does not do so. The final group of 40% expresses no desire to learn anything new. It is important to understand the difference between these groups for confusing them can bring with it considerable mistakes in allocation of resources. Let us examine more closely the first of the three groups.

As mentioned, each year about 1.2 million Danes attend evening schools, preparatory courses, folk high schools, continuing education and much more. This figure comprises adult education proper; that is, all teaching for adults with the exception of first-time education. (If first-time education is included, we are speaking of comprehensive adult education, and the total number of adult students increases to 1.4 million persons, or from 30% to 36.8% of all adults).

Table 1. Participation in various types of adult education on the basis of surveys (1982; adult education Proper)

A. General adult education (evening school and other leisure time courses, folk high school, university courses open to the public, preparatory courses	53.2 %
B. Vocational adult education including retraining (courses for skilled workers, etc.)	8.4 %
C. Continuing job-related education (courses given by trade unions, companies, other organizations, security training, business seminars, etc.)	29.1 %
D. Other teaching (private teaching in music, healing, art, etc.; courses for sports coaches or organization leaders, driver training, etc.)	9.4 %
	100.1

To a certain degree we are speaking of a well-functioning system with a steady stream of participants. Denmark is one of the leading nations in the world in terms of both adult education offerings and number of participants. In England or the southern European countries, participation in adult education is significantly lower, and these countries are puzzled about the high rate of participation in Denmark. A second characteristic of the Danish situation is that the general and creative subjects occupy a central position. Table 1 indicates the relation between the generalist and the more job-related adult education according to the previously mentioned research study.

Regarding the relation between generalist and job-related education, it is interesting to observe what people themselves say about their course participation. A representative cross-section of Danes was asked why they attended the respective course they were following. Table 2 compares job-related motivations to other reasons for participation in adult education (same categories as in Table 1).

As Table 2 indicates, there are mixed motivations for participation in course activity. However, even in the most general type of courses there exist occupationally-oriented factors. Conversely, in those types of education which we usually regard as exclusively job-related, general aspects make their presence to a significant degree.

Table 2. Comparison of occupational and general motives for participation.

Category of course	motivation for attending course job--related	other reasons	
General adult education	18.6 %	81.4 %	100 %
Job-prepatory adult education, including re-training-	55.2 %	44.8 %	100 %
Continuing education	71.2 %	28.8 %	100 %
Other teaching	42.5 %	57.7 %	100 %

If one examines which subjects are taught most (Table 3), one observes a mixture of general/creative and more jobrelated subjects.

Table 3. The most preferred subjects (calculated for comprehensive adult education).

1. English
2. Physical training, yoga, relaxation
3. Electronics, machinery courses
4. Technical training
5. Sewing and cutting

In summary, of nearly four million adult Danes, 1.2 million participate in some kind of adult education. Seen over a period of several years, up to 2.6 million adult Danes will come into contact with the adult education system.(2) Because of this high number, it is interesting to examine the participants ideas of what they obtain from their schooling.

Benefits of Participation

There exists a general misunderstanding that the benefits of a given course of study can be understood as a function of the course's stated objective and formal content. However, as soon as one talks with participants in more detail about what they actually experienced and learned; i.e., what it really has meant to them to take part in a given course, the picture changes. **Learning takes place unevenly, in abrupt jumps and in often unpredictable fashion, and the benefit of courses is always stored by the individual in a unique way.** To this must be added the fact that although one usually learns something of what the teacher intended, one also learns something else: one learns about oneself, whether to speak up or be silent, one learns about different types of people, about democracy, power, about giving in to the situation, etc.(3)

Figure 1 provides some examples of these uneven and unique learning processes.

Figure 1. Examples of perceived benefits of course participation.

person	**course**	**stated benefit**
Female clerk, aged 29	Speech technique (evening school)	1. Became more sure of herself. Learned that she could say something in a group. 2. Obtained desire to learn more in the future
Male teacher, aged 38	Computer science	The mystique about computers was eliminated. Now understands what happens, how computers can be used and what they can be used for.
Male office functionary, aged 48	Computer course intended for participants to keep abreast of technical developments at a high level.	The person learned nothing.
Male postal clerk, aged 38	4-week course at Esbjerg Folk High School	Chose to run for post as workers union representative, which he won and is very satisfied with. Says, "One can absolutely say that the four weeks left their mark on me."
Male insurance agent, aged 35	Course in insurance selling	"I learned that one must allow people to buy for themselves and not pound something down on their heads. I have been enormously happy for this new form ... plus the fact that it has simply increased my salary by 2-3 times in one year."

As Figure 1 indicates, the benefits from these sources can have a very personal rather than standardized character. We can also see that benefits of this type cannot be preprogrammed by those who arrange the courses. The best one can hope for is to be able to create fruitful and fertile conditions for learning. Detailed control cannot be carried out when dealing with real people.

In a summary of the questionnaires answered by 328 students participating in all types of adult education, we can see how the different types of benefits are distributed. Students were asked to state in open form the most important thing they had obtained from participation in their respective adult education course. The responses are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Responses to benefits of participation in adult education courses (328 students)

1.	New or increased knowledge and insight	34.2 %
2.	Personal development, self-confidence, new impulses, variety, new meaning in life, exchange of experiences	17.8 %
3.	Better qualifications, higher salary, better job, educational possibilities	4.9 %
4.	Other (e.g., meeting others, new desire to learn) 13.1	
5.	No response	30.2 %
	Total	100.0 %

As shown in Table 4, the general, personal and attitudinal benefits are accorded considerable weight compared with the job-related or professional gains. One can now ask how these kinds of course benefits relate to the frequent occupational or qualifying course objectives. It appears that on closer analysis it is very difficult to separate the general from the job-related aspects, as is often attempted in discussions of educational policy.

As an example of this difficulty, let us take one of the subjects of our investigation: a 31-year-old machinist.(4) In the evenings he attends a ninth-grade preparatory course. He takes Mathematics and English because he needs them at work. "I need geometry, and I have to read instructions in English", he says. He takes Danish for his "personal development". But now something strange occurs. He suddenly uses mathematics in his private life "to see through statistics". And Danish is used at the workplace to express himself better. At the same time he expresses the desire to enroll in new courses next year.

A second example: a 48-year-old male head of a sales department takes a course in the "Psychology of Cooperation" so he can better learn to understand his customers, their motives and salesman-customer interaction. For the salesman it is important "that we do not talk past each other," as he explains. However, the course also provided the salesman with a derivative benefit in the form of personal development. He frequently thinks about this when he communicates with his wife and children. He has discovered that he sometimes talked down to his children, and now tries to avoid doing so.

The benefit derived from a course is often unpredictable. Sometimes people attend courses in order to learn something technical and specialized and are surprised when they experience a personal development, obtain the desire to learn more, etc. In some cases people are sent on employerpaid training courses and obtain nothing out of them. **The course benefit is a holistic phenomenon, in which the occupational and general aspects are so interwoven with each other that the threads cannot be distinquished.** The consequence, as stated above, is that detailed programming of course gains cannot be carried out. What one can do is to base oneself on what people basically desire to do and the direction toward which they want to develop themselves, and on this basis create a learning situation which is a productive and effective as possible. In this connection, the educational-didactical aspects of organizing courses becomes extremely important.

The Educational-Didactical Problems

As stated previously, the number of offerings and participants is especially high in Denmark. Just as important, however, is the level of **quality** of the educational process and the learning benefits. All indications point to significant problems in this area.(5) In recent years we have become aware of a considerable dropout rate, of fluctuating attendance, and fluctuating levels of student motivation. This is an external sign that something is not as it should be, and that beneath the "shell" of great numbers of participants there have crept into the teaching situation significant qualitative problems. In a general sense, these educational problems are serious enough that if neglected they could threaten the entire system (including the Danish tradition for "enlightenment").

The first of these problems is that teaching has attained a **consumption character.** Students have begun to view teaching in the same manner as any other product or service on the consumer market. It has increasingly become the case that participants feel the need to examine the teaching offerings and the teacher before they decide to commit themselves. One looks inside and examines if this "product" is worth "buying". In some cases the students may be attracted by the novelty of the course at the beginning but then lose interest and look around for something else. The teacher is then confronted with the unpleasant choice between either resigning and leaving the students to their own devices, or constantly trying to "do something special" to attract or hold the students' attention ("showmanship").

Second, adult education has attained a **problem of subjective significance.** Many pupils state that the courses they participate in are not really important or meaningful for them. Our study indicates that adult education in Denmark seems neither to be critically important activity for the students, nor decisively unimportant.(6). For most respondents, adult education activity seems to lie in a moderate middle-area. In our survey of 328 students in adult education, we asked whether their course had personal significance for them. Only 8.7% answered clearly in the affirmative, while only 29.7%, stated that they were emotionally involved in the course. Over half (51.3%) stated that they "would do other equally good things" if they did not go to the course. For too many people, adult education has been trivialized; it has become an irrelevant activity where one could just as well do something else. The respondents rather depressing views are supported by classroom observations, where one can observe many participants sitting passively, listlessly, and staring out into space while the teacher talks to a seemingly invisible audience. Nothing the teacher says seems to penetrate the students' consciousness. Related to the problem of the importance of the classroom experience is its character of conventionality. In most cases adult education confirms the established society and the established situation, and the teaching situation seems not to generate any socially renewing power or energy.

A third problem is that teaching has been affected by a **tendency toward fragmentation**. To-day's adult education and popular enlightenment tend to appear as distinct entities, with each of these separated from the learning which adults find personally important. This triple separation leads to a reduction in quality. Teaching runs not only the risk of becoming boring. It risks the loss of societal perspective (cultural perspective, international perspective) and personal involvement. Enlightenment, which ought to foster more insight into life, social awareness and involvement, and which ought to provide new skills in mastering ones environment, has been reduced to one-way transmission of information via the mass media. Those things which the individual finds important have come to centre on problems of private life, and not the world situation.

What can be done about these problems and about several others of a similar nature?(7) If quality and content in Danish adult education and popular enlightenment are to be preserved, the situation demands new approaches and new procedures. The whole enterprise must be restructured. There is no single standard recipe which can solve all the abovementioned problems. However, one can point to some areas in which progress might be made. One of the most visible signs of progress is the comprehensive experimental activity which is taking place.(8) One can also cite the need for collective or integrative approaches to adult education in which students and teachers are brought together for large blocks of time (e.g., under conditions resembling those of the folk high school or where it is otherwise possible to integrate the world of work with that of personal learning and development). Third, there is a special reason to become interested in focusing on the participants' own life experiences. Various theoretical models for have been developed which point to how such a process can occur.(9) In a recent study this model is expanded to contain existential life experiences, and the method is differentiated according to whether it concerns teaching with required or optional reading materials.(10)

This method makes indifference and lack of involvement impossible. It has its point of departure in something which is guaranteed important and engaging for the participants: their own central life experiences. With the aid of a special method, their life experiences are reformulated in the classroom. It is often the case that the student must for the first time put into words certain central personal experiences. Thereafter, a bridge can be built to connect these essential life experiences with the actual subject of the course. Teaching is made vital in this way, often with a surprising amount of energy.

Those Who Do Not Participate

Many people want to learn more. Approximately 60% of the Danish population has expressed the desire for further teaching and education. Of these about half are participating at any point in time. However, the other 30% of the population would like to enroll in adult education but never actually do so. This is a group which deserves our attention. There is considerable evidence to show that work obligations, including unsuitable working hours, economic problems, family obligations and the general stressful life situation are the main causes which hinder this group from actualizing its desire to learn more. This would benefit from more interest on our part. The 1.1 million Danes who would like to learn more constitute an enormous human resource for societal development. If Denmark wishes to utilize the opportunities offered by the new world markets, it cannot afford to ignore these one million individuals. They constitute an opportunity which we ought not to pass up .

Finally, about 40% of Denmark's adult population states that they do not wish to learn any more. They would rather use their time for fishing, playing cards, going for walks, or other activities.

In my view we ought to respect peoples wishes to do something else than to educate themselves. A fruitful educational process is predicated on students who have the desire to learn. On the other hand, societal development over the long term makes it imperative that all members of society's have the desire at times to develop themselves via new learning experiences. The problem, then, is whether it is possible to turn an aversion toward education into a desire for it. Here we can identify two possible solutions. One consists of attracting with an education which is so radical and so different that it provides them an entirely new view of what it means to learn something. The other path consists of improving the general life situation so that the individual member of society attains adequate possibilities for self-realization and ismade to feel valuable. Here we can especially cite the democratization of workplace conditions and of social life generally. Where there are satisfactory conditions at the workplace and at home, the desire to learn will arise all by itself.

Notes

1. B. Jacobsen, *Studier i dansk voksenundervisning og folkeoplysning. Socio-psykologiske analyser* (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1991). The project comprises a questionnaire administered to 2500 adults plus in-depth interviews, observations of teaching and personal descriptions of what people actually learn.
2. Data derived from B. Jacobsen, *Studier i dansk voksenundervisning og folkeoplysning. Socio-psykologiske analyser*, Se note 1.
3. What in the literature has come to be known as "the hidden curriculum", See for example, M. Bauer and K. Borg, *Den skjulte læreplan* (Copenhagen: UP, 1976).
5. These problems are discussed in the larger study cited in note 1. For a summary see Chapter One in B. Jacobsen *Voksenundervisning og livserfaring* (Copenhagen: Ejlers, 1989)
6. See note 1.
7. See note 5.
8. The 10-point program is a fine example. See the reports of the developmental Center for Popular Enlightenment an Adult Education; e.g., M. Balle-Petersen et al., *At overskride grænser* (Copenhagen, 1986)
9. B. Jacobsen, K. Schnack and B. Walhgren, *Erfaring og undervisning*. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1980). And H. Salling Olesen, *Voksenundervisning - hverdagsliv og erfaring*. (Copenhagen: Unge Paedagoger, 1985).
10. See B. Jacobsen, *Voksenundervisning og livserfaring*. Especially chapters 7-10.

Seven ascertainment of adult education

- on the basis of Danish research work done up till now

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1. Foreword

Within the limits of this article, it is not possible to analyse thoroughly the argumentation put forward on the necessity of the efforts undertaken in the field of adult education. Neither do I intend to describe or define the adult educational system which I presume is known to the reader. However, after my introduction, I would like to draw the attention to some research results obtained in the past few years. It should be mentioned that the extent of research in adult education in Denmark is still limited: Most of the funds available for educational research are being spent on education for a different age group. This also became clear in connection with a hearing organized by the Research Committee of the Danish Parliament a few years ago.

2. Focus on adult education

The public debate is characterized by a profound confidence in the possibility of using education as a means to overcome social problems, unemployment, functional illiteracy, alienation towards Danish language and culture, etc. Furthermore, it is often stated that the qualifications of the labour force should be adapted to labour market demands in the years to come and that the lack of young people implies that the "grey-haired" have to remain on the labour market and consequently have to be educated even at an advanced age.

It is emphasized that in the year 2000, there will be 1,3 mio. unskilled workers in Denmark (according to the Danish Trade Union Congress). That unskilled or skilled workers will constitute more than 80% of the labour force in the year 2010 (Danish Ministry of Education). That there is little need for skilled or unskilled workers in the future (The Industrial Research and Development Advisory Committee of the EEC). That 75%

Research and Development Advisory Committee of the EEC). That 75% of blue collar workers, 50% of the unemployed and 15% of the people on welfare payment will have some sort of vocational education. (Ministry of Social Affairs). That 460.000 adults are functional illiterates (Danish Institute of Pedagogy). That 50% of the labour force is 40 years of age or more in the year 2000 (Danish Statistical Office).

In the light of this information, it is relevant to ask questions concerning the qualifications of the Danes: Do they match the changed demands of working life? Are their basic skills sufficient to manage in a changing society?

It takes more than one research project to find an answer to these questions therefore I would venture the claim: No. It seems that the number of routine jobs will be too small to occupy the large number of Danes with no qualifications. Furthermore, the job increase will primarily be found within the so-called scientific production. Jobs traditionally occupied by skilled or unskilled workers will disappear. Technology will conquer still more ground. It is therefore not likely that an increase in economic growth will create the necessary number of jobs for people with only little basic education or traditional qualifi-cations and in that way reduce unemployment among this group. Assuming, of course, that "protected workshops" in the form of alternative labour markets, etc. are not established to artificially fill this gab.

At the same time, there is not much evidence that adults' basic skills are sufficient to function in "a still more complicated society", illustrated for instance by the sizeable number of functional illiterates. From various quarters, the guns have been positioned and the necessity of educating adults have been emphasized over and over again. As part of this new wave, assertions flourish, characterized by a mixture of research, statistics, intuition and presumptions. Prophets and profiteers are in clover as always in those situations. In Denmark as in the entire European community, one educational programme after the other see the light of day. It seems that, parallel to the single market, we will in the years to come experience an open educational market focussing on adult education, financially supported by individuals, companies, regions, municipalities, states - all of which have no links to institutions.

In this connection more knowledge within a number of research areas will be needed. I shall not go into details with this but concentrate in the following on seven ascertainments obtained from the latest research work.

3. Seven ascertainments obtained from research work.

The first ascertainment is based on the fact that it is possible to improve adults' life situation through adult education. Evaluations - also the more reliable ones - based on control groups, etc., show positive results in relation to continuing education, work, family and leisure-time relations. As for the so-called "education-ally estranged" who have no previous experience of a positive nature from other educations, significant effects have equally been obtained.

As far as the unemployed are concerned, effects have been remarkable also regarding employment. Here I have chosen to disregard the success-stories which often catch the media and the more sensation-seeking quantitative research work which has taken place lately. However, for long term unemployed people it is still difficult to trace an effect as far as employment is concerned and it is not possible to trace special effects of certain educational menthods. No specific effect has appeared as a result of prolonging the education of long term unemployed.

The second ascertainment is based on the fact that it is possible to motivate adults - even the most negative - to go back into education. Through personal contacts, information campaigns, the participation of several adults in the same courses, etc., it is possible to integrate education in subcultures which is normally rejected.

The third ascertainment is based on the fact that - despite the two first ones - education for adults is still extremely unequally distributed. Adults with a fairly long educational background have a greater opportunity to take part in adult education. Surveys of participants show that well-educated male employees bag all the resources. 2/3 of the funding for adult education is spent on vocational training attended by one third - mostly men - of the participants. The remaining third of the funds are spent by women primarily in connection with general adult education.

These discrepancies reappear although the message concernning the need for adult education has now been accepted by those with a short formal education (ascertainment number four). A survey showed e.g. that nine adults out of ten believe that they need to participate in supplementary training in order to be able to meet the new demands of the labour market in the nineties.

This broad perception forms to a large extent the background of the fifth ascertainment that there is a servere and increasing pressure on adult education. In the years to come, we will consequently experience a tremendous funding problem - which should, however, be seen in relation to the (short term?) employment effect which is the result of adult employees being educated. A survey showed e.g. that 40% of workers with short educational background participating in paid educational leave, are replaced by other workers (same hours) during the educational period which leads to cuts in unemployment benefits.

Researchers have made great efforts to describe generally the kind of qualifications adults should obtain through an adult education course seen in relation to the development of the society (ascertainment number six). Even at the concrete level, it has been extremely difficult for the educational institutions to define the needs of the labour market and - when this has been possible - to convert them into concrete education. It has e.g. not been possible on the basis of an analysis made of the institutions' training of unemployed to establish that the training is based on the needs of the local labour market or for that matter on the requirements and qualifications of the participants.

The seventh and last ascertainment should be regarded in continuation of the above: Planning and organization of adult education are both very problematic. The whole area is divided between a number of authorities from ministries, to county administrations and municipalities, and education has thus historically been established as a result of the emerging demands. A number of organizations and politicians believe that a centralization of the decision-making process constitute a solution to the problem. They also believe that this centralization is an absolute condition if new reforms should be introduced. This would be a brilliant point of departure for a researcher studying conflicts of power and interests within the field of adult education.

FINLAND

Transforming Adult Teaching - Stability and Change in Teaching Practices at Liberal Adult Education Centres

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Abstract

This article describes a development project that has taken place in eight adult education centres in Finland from 1987 to 1990. The project represents an attempt to transform everyday teaching practices and routines attached to them through teachers' involvement in researching and developing their own work. The project draws its theoretical background from sociohistorical psychology, critical social science, and theory of structuration. The methodological premises stem from developmental work research and action research with an attempt towards emancipation and reflection on practice. The project is reported in a series of articles that are offered to be published for international audience. This article is the first of the series, and it attempts to give an overview of the project. The issues that rise throughout the paper will be discussed more througly in the succeeding articles.

Introduction

The liberal adult education centres are in crisis in Finland. The laws that govern the financing of the centres are changing. Combined with the growing demands of efficiency and economy that take place everywhere in society including the municipalities (owners of the most centres), there is a strong strive towards tightening the resouce-base of the centres.

At the same time vocational adult education goes strong. Not only the general opinion is becoming more favourable to maybe more learning-oriented vocational adult education, but there is also a new municipal adult education system consisting of vocational adult education centres in the phasis of creation in Finland. The competition that breakes the monopoly of the liberal adult education centres has come to shy.

The situation is even more problematic, when it is realized that the hsk of the liberal adult education centres is very vague even to themselves, and that the out-spoken hsk seems to differ from what is taking place in the centres. Teaching in the centres is organized still mainly into two hour sessions that take place in the classrooms once a week during short semesters, and the methods of teaching are in most cases traditional.

However, at the same time one has to acknowledge that the students are generally very satisfied with the liberal adult education centres, and 650.000 students (the population of Finland is about 5 million) do attend to the courses every year.

To find a way out of this contradiction eight liberal adult education centres (with over 70 full-time teachers) started in 1987 a development project that was directed towards developing the quality of teaching in the centres. Teaching was not seen only at the level of classrooms, but also as the central activity of the centres that is essential for defining the tasks and strategies. Therefore the focus of the development project was directed towards integrating the level of teachers' activities and the level of institutional structures in order to develop the teaching practices as well as institutional tasks and strategies.

The development project adopted as a methodological point of departure an idea of adult teachers as developers of their own work. In practice this meant that the basis of development work was directed towards grassroots level, where the teachers themselves would do researching, studying, and experimenting in order to develop their own teaching practices.

The teaching practices have, however, been formed through a long history – by doing things day-to-day teaching practices have become routinized and institutionalized. In order to change the practices it is necessary to break the routines and institutionalized forms of conduct, and create new qualitatively different ways of acting. The research that has been tied to the project has been an attempt to facilitate this kind of transformation, and find essential structural and personal aspects that affect stability and change during a development project.

The Formation of Teaching Practices - From Routinization to Transformation

For the purpose of understanding stability and change at the workplace and the role of a development project in changing teaching practices, it is useful to differentiate between routinization and transformation as aspects of work practices. **Routinization** is defined here as the habitual, taken-for-granted character of the activities of day-to-day working life. **Transformation is** defined here as the process of qualitative and structural change in the work practices.

Formation of teaching practices, thus, seems to involve two kinds of processes: 1) Routinization forms the basis of day-to-day working life by building up the tacit knowledge-base and the practical consciousness of the teacher; 2) Transformation forms the basis of qualitative changes in the working life, and requires more theoretical and discursive knowledge-base and teacher's more reflective orientation towards work.

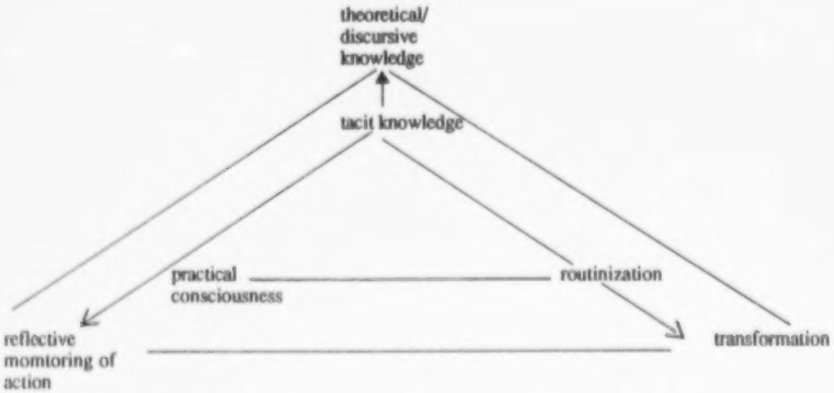

Figure 1. Formation of teaching practices - from routinization to transformation

Routinization and organization of practices

The routines and teaching practices have evolved over a longer period of time. They have their history that forms the basis for habituation and tradition. Through the process of socialization, teachers internalize the history of the institution and teaching practices connected to it. However, at the same time the teachers bring their own life history into the process of socialization and form the practices through their activities. Therefore formation of routines and teaching practices always also involves **knowledgeable human activity.**

Through the human activity the formation of teaching practices incorporates the subjective and the objective component. Namely, as Giddens (1984: 90) has observed, if there is any continuity to working life at all, most teachers must be right most of the time; that is to say, they know what they are doing, and they successfully communicate their knowledge to others. The knowledgeability incorporated in the practical activities which make up the bulk of daily life is a constitutive feature of the social world.

The **knowledge-base of everyday practices** is by its nature tacit, idiographic, and contextual. It's not based on systemati and generalizable analysis, but on intuitive judgments concerning individual and unique settings. On the other hand, it's tested in practice by its functionality in answering to practical questions. It also seems to be based on tacit consensus between teachers based on their mutual expectations, on holistic conception of the setting with many interacting variables, and on allowing unexpected and unintended consequences of action.

It is also important to emphasize the **contextuality** of teaching and educational institutions. According to Giddens (1984), all social life occurs in, and is constituted by, intersections of presence and absence in the 'fading away' of time and the 'shading off' of space (p. 132). He emphasizes the reversible time as an important characteristic of the day-to-day routine conduct. Therefore it is necessary to take into consideration both the contextual settings and their formation in time through human activities.

Transformation of routines and practices

However, the changing world inevitably leads teachers to settings, where the routines just don't work. The unconscious habits once learned become self-defeating in a superficially similar but structurally altered social context. These situations are the ones that actually make the change inevitable. When teachers find themselves in settings that are not understandable within the old tacit thought models, they tend to reflect on practice (see Giddens 1984).

The role of historically developing practices is of central importance in the **reflective monitoring of action.** Because concrete teaching practices have evolved in social contexts, reflection can not include only teachers' inquiry into their own practices; it involves a critique directed towards analyzing and challenging the institutional structures in which teachers work. This perspective on reflection locates teachers as objects in socio-historical development, but at the same time active agents whose action forms the development.

Reflective monitoring as such is not capable of changing teaching practices. In order to do things differently, different instruments are needed. By **instruments** it's refered to both concrete artefacts and instruments of thought - signs, concepts and models. The role of instruments highlights the importance of mediation in developing human activities. Conscious changing of practices in fact demands that the developing objects of thought are transformed into instruments of thought. Representational concepts must be transformed into instrumental concepts. Perceptual-concrete objects have to be reconstructed in simplified models which act as tools for experimentation and working with the potentialities embedded in the object (see Engestrom 1987).

The problem within the notion of reflective monitoring of action lies in the trust on capability of everyday cognition and human problem solving based on it. However, practitioners do have a limited capacity to conceptualize everyday phenomena. A useful distinction here is between **everyday concepts** based on perceptually concrete phenomena and **theoretical concepts** based on substantial generalization (Dawydow 1977). In order to fully grasp the why's of human activities and produce the instruments for new practices, the historical and dialectical nature of the teaching practices has to be analyzed deeper, and the theoretical construction of our activities has to be built up stronger.

A necessary component in development work is the production of new practices. This requires also transformation of the contexts of action. The contexts of action will inevitably change, because the changing practices are the embodiments of the contexts. On the other hand, the contexts may resist change, and this way limit the possibitities for development. This refers to what Giddens (1984) calls **duality of structure,** structure both as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes. Contexts are both restricting and enabling at the same time.

The contextual nature of transforming practices necessarily makes the transformation a collective enterprise. The individual actions form a collective activity that builds on mutual knowledge, communication, and concrete activities in teaching practices. The **collectivity** can be seen first in the form of learning activity, as the forming of collective mastery of developing practices, and second on the form of work activity, as the collective transformation of practices at the workplace.

The transformation of routines and practices seems to demand reflective monitoring of action, formation of new instruments of action, and transformation of the contexts of action. This transformation has its origin in the contradictory nature of evolving practices, which drives teachers into settings, where their existing habits don't work.

The Methodological Cycle of Transforming Adult Teaching

Research on transformation is possible only in situations, where transformation takes place. In the development project the adult education institutes, meaning both the principals and the teachers, agreed to produce transformation through a methodology called developmental work research. It is a popular way to organize and implement larger development projects in a variety of fields in Finland. It has its roots in activity theory, which highlights the importance to approch work practices as historically evolving activity systems (see Engeström 1987).

Developmental work research differs from traditional action research basicly because of its strong emphasis on historical analysis and theoretical conceptualization of phenomena. On the other hand developmental work research highlights the importance of internal contradictions in activity systems as the basic developmental force in practices. Therefore it also has an emansipatory dimension.

By theoretical analysis the routines and tacit thought models get their content and history, and new tools to develop teaching practices evolve. These tools will provide the basis for teachers' learning and practical experimentation, which in turn will lead to further analysis. The action research spiral therefore forms the nucleus of continuous transformation of teaching.

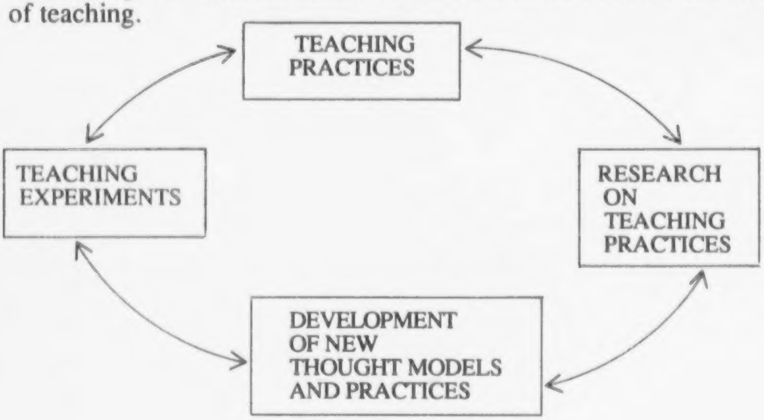
TEACHING PRACTICES
TEACHING EXPERIMENTS
RESEARCH ON TEACHING PRACTICES
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW THOUGHT MODELS AND PRACTICES

Figure 2. The methodological cycle of transforming adult teaching

Teaching Practices

The project started with a task given to teachers. They were asked to describe a problematic situation in their work and analyze it. The task produced five different types of problems that were validated through discussions with teachers.

A) External requirements for teaching: rule-following or meaningful action

Work in adult education centres is guided by legislation, which for example has defined the minimum amount of students in a course and denied the use of two teachers at the same time on a course. The definition of teacher's work seems to be also problematic. Some teachers have criticized teachers' salaries, and their basis in teaching duties. For example the production study material requires a lot of work, without any extra pay.

B) *The planning of teaching: supply or demand*

Course planning takes place in the adult education centres through printed programs. During every spring teachers form the program for the next year (from september to april), which is offered for the potential students. Mainly the program seems to resemble the program before, although some changes are of course made. Often these changes, and new courses, are problematic. Students are not willing to give up their old courses, and want to keep on the same group. On the other hand teachers have often tried to recruit students for new courses through personal contacts, but although the students feel positively about the course, they do not take part in it. Many of the new courses with new ideas and developments just do not ever start, because of the lack of students.

C) *The role of a teacher: teacher or pedagogical consultant*

One of the main work tasks of a full-time teacher is the development of teaching in his/her area. When about 70-80 % of all teaching in the centres is taken care of by part-time teachers, consulting with them should form a central part in fulltime teachers work. Most part-time teachers do not have pedagogical competence, and because their work and salary is defined though their teaching duties, the time they are in the classroom, they are not eager to use their 'free time' to develop their competence. At the same time full-time teacher's work is also defined through teaching duties, and they are in general not eager to do 'extra work'.

D) *The aim of teaching: amusement or learning*

Some teachers criticized their students for their purely social motives. Some students may have formed over the years a coherent social group, which sticks together, and only wants to do, what they have done before. Some other students are just seeking social contacts, and are not willing to work hard for their learning, although the teachers ambitions would lead to another direction. At the same time students take part in cources only because of their own free will. If they do not come, there will not be any course, and the teacher will not be paid. So there are strong practical reasons to teach according to students wishes.

E) *The limits of student-centeredness: authority vs. acceptance*

Some teachers saw their relation to students as problematic. This happened especially with difficult students, who in a way or another terrorized the group. What is the teacher's responsibility for each student, and for the group as a whole? How to handle the different conflicts that arise in the group?

Another point that was raised by some teachers was the problem of forcing the students to do something they are afraid to do. In some subject areas the student has in a way to win himself/herself, and somebody has to push him/her to do that. Although the learning task demands hardness from the teacher, the students want softness. At the same time, however, the teacher cannot ever be completely sure, where the limits are.

Teacher's authority and power embedded in it form an instrument for the teacher, but the principles of its use seem to be vague in a student-centered culture of adult education.

Research on teaching practices

The research on teaching practices has taken both the form of historical analysis and actual-empirical analysis. Historical analysis draws on data collected and reported by the practitioners themselves. Researcher has expanded the data collection and analysis and summarized the results. The data is approached on four levels: (1) the development of the institution of liberal adult education centres, (2) the development of the particular centres in their municipalities, (3) the development of teaching of a particular subject in the centres, and (4) the development of particular teachers teaching in the centres.

Actual empirical analysis is based on interviews with 28 teachers as well as on other material collected during the development project. This analysis has not yet been composed into a form that could be presented.

The historical analysis has revealed five phases in the development of teaching in the adult education centres:

(1) *school-oriented-phase* (early 1900 - late 1920s),

The first liberal adult education centres were founded as workers institutes to industrual areas at the changing of the century. The urge for own national culture and independence was strong. The main intention of the workers institutes was to work for the enlightenment of poor people, especially those coming from the working class. There was also a strong need to have workers' representatives in municipalities' governing bodies, which had also an effect in founding the institutes .

Teaching was mainly given by school teachers at classrooms in school subjects for students that were under 21 years old. The formed practices did not correspond to the original idea of enlightening adults. Actually even the philantropic idea of enlightenment were criticized, and during the 1920s there was a strong argument for seeing the practices as the cultivation of citizens' self-education. At the same time the demands of adult students, who formed usually a quite coherent fraternity, contradicted the school-based practices, and forwarded the founding of student-centered teaching in the institutes.

(2) *societally-oriented phase* (late 1920s - 1940s),

The first law concerning the financing of adult education centres (still workers institutes at that time) came out in 1927. Not only did the law provide a financial backbone to the centres, but it also made the cultivation of citizens' self-education as the main task of the centres. The task included the development if the whole personality, self-direction, self-control, and orientation towards learning.

Although the activities of the institutes were at this time societally-oriented, the amount of hobby-oriented subjects (art, music, physical education, wood work, textile work) started to grow in the institutes' curriculum. The student's medium age started to rise, and more and more women started to attend the courses. More groups that were formed around different subjects came to question the role of the student fraternity.

The main contradictions started to evolve between the societally-oriented and hobby-oriented subjects, between humanistic task and practical realities, and between part-time teachers and demands for student-centered teaching. The demands for student-centered teaching came through with the new teaching method called study circles and study groups.

(3) *socially-oriented phase* (1940s - early 1960s),

Typical for the socially-oriented phase was the growth of the amount of hobby-oriented subjects in the curriculum. More and more students were female. The students were in general older and came from the middle-class. Workers institute were not any more a illustrative name for the center, and a growing amount of the founding centres took a name civic institute.

The distinction between hobby-oriented and learning-oriented subjects started to gain strenth. The main objectives of the centres were forwarded towards learning-oriented subjects - courses towards examinations, vocational courses, and partly language education. However, their amount stayed quite small in the curriculum with the exception of language education.

The basic contradictions on this phase were the ones between the traditional aim of cultivation of citizens' self-education and the practice of hobby-oriented 'studying'; and between systematic and learning-oriented subjects and unsystematic and hobby-oriented subjects.

(4) *service-orientedphase* (early 1960s - late 1970s),

Distinctive feature of the service-oriented phase was a explosive growth of the centres. The centres became the main site of satisfying the inhabitants' needs for hobby oriented studying. This service-orientation was based on three central characteristics: (1) the uncritical principle of letting all flowers grow, (2) leaving the choice and assessment to the students, and (3) pointing to the great interest shown in the subject as justification for arranging the service (Alanen 1988, 9).

The basic contradictions at this phase were between growth of amount of teaching and its basis on part-time teachers and the principal-based management; between learning-oriented subjects that were appreciated and hobby-oriented subjects that filled up the program; and between the teaching skill of part-time teachers and adult students demands. This last contradiction was clearly visible in the large numbers of students that dropped out from the courses.

(5) *organization-oriented phase* (from late 1970s on).

Typical for the organization-oriented phase is the growth of the amont of students and its limitation because of the limitation of the state subsidies. The amount of full-time teachers has increased so that generally about 20-30 % or teaching is nowadays taken care of fulltime teachers. However, full-time teachers work consists not only of teaching, but also of organizing and planning teaching in his/her subject area, and guiding the part-time teachers as well as students among other duties.

The development of the centre as an educational institution has led the way towards a stronger differentiation between administration and teaching. The principals have withdrawn from the teaching practice and concentrate on the administration. Teachers' pedagogical autonomy and orientation towards specific subject areas build up obstacles on discussing about pedagogical questions, and the definition of the teaching duties as time spent in the classroom makes the pedagogical management difficult.

The basic contradictions of this phase are between the traditional idea of cultivation of citizens' self-education and the forming of the centres as educational institutions; between administration and teaching; between teaching in the centre as a whole and in the separate subjeet areas; and between administrative orientation and pedagogical development.

Development of new thought models and practices - Facing the stability of practices

The development project supported two main strategies in developing new thought models and practices: training and cooperation. **Training** was organized on four levels: A) general training for all taking part in the project, B) general pedagogical training for all (a course: Towards a new pedagogy), C) subject-pedagogical training organized by teachergroups in different subject areas, and D) subject-oriented training, where the individual teachers have taken part in. Teachers' **co-operation** was organized in institute-based teams and subject-matter teams.

Training in general did not work in breaking the routines and the tacit knowledge-base of teaching, although it in many cases created contradictions among participants. Training was organized in too small units (2-3 days each course), teachers didn't complete learning tasks, and the subject-matter was often seen as non-practical (too theoretical) or trivial. Teachers' relationship with training seemed to be paradoxical: On the one hand they demanded clear practical models on how to do it in practice; on the other hand they resisted these models, if they differed from actual practice. It also seemed to be common to compose a pedagogical language game', where the actual practice was reconceptualized with new pedagogical ideas.

Co-operation generally did not work either to break the routines and tacit knowledge-base of practices. Usually there is only one full-time teacher un each subjeect-area in the centre. The institute-based teams were not capable of breaking the subjectmatter structure of teaching. On the other hand, the teachers in the same subject area were divided in the project between different geographical locations, which made their contacts rare. In many cases the teachers in the same subject-area had so divergent interests that they did not want to pursue co-operation.

To analyze the teaching practices and their stability more throughly it is possible to differentiate between historical, structural, and personal elements. Historical elements are inbuilt to the practices through tradition. Structural elements form the basis of the organization of practices. Personal elements on their behalf describe the subjective component of practices.

Through the strive towards change during the development project, some elements that support stability have become of central importance.

A) *Historical elements*

Tradition in teacher education separates theory and practice, which makes it hard to unsolve the contradictions in teaching practices through educational (and theoretical) means. Teacher education has created a pedagogical language for teachers, which can be used as an indication of competence, but which does not correspond to actual teaching practices..

The extreme relativism as the ideological basis of liberal adult education makes everything acceptable and critical argumentation hard to reach. On the other hand the myth of pedagogical autonomy and freedom, where the fear of control is inbuilt, supports the "culture of silance" in the centres.

B) *Structural elements*

The organization of teaching work mainly into two-hour lessons on weekly basis during short semesters makes the differentiation between work and free-time problematic. The definition of teachers' work through teaching duties, hours spent in the classroom, divides work into teaching duties and "extra work". "Extra work" is done during potential "free time". This definition of teaching work outplaces many central functions of a full-time teacher, like for example making study materials, counseling, guidance, consultation, and all development work.

Teachers' work usually at home and in the classroom. They don't have a workplace with a normal social structure. Although the relations with the students form the basis for social contacts in teachers' work, many teachers see their work as lonely. This is partly due to the missing contacts with other teachers, and partly to the working times (most of the classes are in the evening), which have restructured the social networks at free time. It is surprising that a job as teaching can be so private.

C) *Personal elements*

Teachers seem to view themselves in the first place as subject-matter experts, and often highlight the unique pedagogical nature of their subject. Therefore they generally see pedagogical training as unnecessary, and not applicable to their own subject-areas. The subject-matter based blindness of potential pedagogical applications from other areas builds up a closed system around every subject, and therefore makes it hard to co-operate and produce new practices.

Teachers feel responsibility towards their own students, which makes it hard to leave the students in order to participate in training during semesters. On the other hand long holidays are one of the best parts of teaching work, and it's not favourable to use them for training either.

It also seemed that teachers had internalized the general relativism that makes everything acceptable in training. For example, it was typical that some teachers participated and some did not; that other teachers came and left during training according to their own wishes; and that most teachers did not complete the learning tasks that were mutually agreed upon. In general it seemed that most teachers were unwilling to work hard for their own learning.

Teacing experiments - Possibilities for changing practices

Where the attemp to develop new thought models and practices seemed to highlight the stability of practices, the teaching experiments showed surprisingly the transformative capacity of practices. During the first year of experimenting (1988-89) 27 different teching experiments were completed. The second year of experimenting (1989-90) produced reports from 18 experiments.

The data collected from the experiments has not yet been sufficiently analyzed. It is, however, possible to draw some hypothetical conclusions from the initial analyses of the experiments. Some experiments seemed to have been composed only to legitimate and reproduce existing practices. Many of the experiments nevertheless included attempts to produce new ways of solving the existing contradictions. These experiments included:

Restructuring of teaching work:
- Co-operation between teachers based on subject-matter teams
- Teachers' collective self-study and pedagogical discussion
- The intensification of teaching by breaking the traditionally boundaries of time-space
- computer-assisted instruction
- Counselling

Reorganizing of teaching/studying practices:
- Enhancing self-direction in learning
- Integrating everyday activities with studying
- Teaching based on learning tasks

- Planning, modelling and production of study-material as part of teaching

Through the experiments the teachers are clearly changing the weight from the traditional student-centeredness towards learning-centeredness. Teachers present new learning demands for students and direct studying towards more learning-oriented activitities. Student's consciousness of his/her learning is enhanced, and his relation towards the subject matter is organized more into an inquiry. Studying is directed more to real life outside the classroom, and organized into projects which integrate learning and changing of social practices.

The seeds of transformation

According to the preliminary analysis of the teaching experiments teaching seems to be changing into pedagogical consultation with special competence in both subject matter and learning. In near future teacher may be less a teacher and more an organizer of learning environments. In practice this would mean not only a transformation in teachers' ways of thinking and acting, but also structural transformations in defining teachers' work. Following aspects of transformation form the hypothesis of the zone of proximal development.

A) The role of the adult education centre seems to change from an organizer of course supply towards a learning centre, which organizes flexibly different kinds of learning opportunities to complex and changing learning environments.

B) The adult education centre is changing from an administrative organization towards a pedagogical community with a sense of common identity and co-operative strategies for organizing learning opportunities across different subject-areas.

C) Teachers' work will be redefined in a way that includes teachers' role as a pedagogical consultant and developer of learning opportunities and learning environments.

D) Teachers will have to take a critical stance towards their own work, and organize their own learning in a more reflective and serious way.

E) The students' learning is going to be rethought in a conscious way, and new more action-oriented methods and materials will be created to organize learning and development of social practices in a meaningful way.

The seeds of transformation are visible only in some teaching practices. It is important to analyze more deeply the routinized activities and their tacit knowledge-base in order to understand the aspects of stability and change in everyday teaching practices. This will form the challenge for the continuation of the research efforts.

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A Framework for Adult Education

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Abstract

The paper introduces a framework for planning and implementing adult education. Adult education is seen as a problem solving process related to individual and environmental changes in one's life. The framework includes five elements: (1) Practice and experience as the starting point in planning of change, (2) Producing alternatives for change, (3) Planning of change strategies, (4) Changes in social and learning environment, and finally (5) Adult education and learning. The framework points out various routes to follow when considering different roles of adult education in a wider context of adult learning.

1. Introduction

The paper introduces a framework for planning and implementing adult and continuing education. The framework emphasizes two key aspects of adult learning: [1] the concept of (individual, environmental or organizational) change, and [2] learning as a problem solving/decision making process.

An aim of this paper is to discuss about adult education in relation to individual or organizational change processes. Adult learning can be considered as a change seeking process or as a process to cope with the change which has already occurred. It is assumed that 'change' is one of the key aspects of adult learning, and it should be taken into consideration in educational planning.

Adult learning is often closely related to problem solving in a complex reality in which the adult lives and acts. To achieve a comprehensive picture about the circumstances in which adult learning takes place, there is need to study individual and environmental factors and their interrelations. Understanding of the past and the present forms the basis to analyze and to plan desired changes.

The framework for planning adult education (Figure 1) integrates various phases of planning and implementing adult education. In the following, some orientations to adult education and learning are firstly discussed in relation to problem solving. The framework is introduced with discussion of different categories of the general model.

2. Adult Learning

Many theories and models of adult education regard learning as a problem solving process with connections to actual life experiences of adults. For instance, Dewey (1933) introduced the term 'problem solving cycle', and Freire (1972) talks about 'problem posing education'. In the following a few examples of orientations into adult education and learning are summarized.

Table 1. Orientations to Adult Education and Learning

DEWEY 1938	All genuin education comes through experience. Problemsolvlng cycle: 1 hypotheses about possible solutions to problem 2 a comprehension of the problem to be solved 3 data collection 4 reasoning 5 experimentation to solve the problem
FREIRE 1972	Problem-solving learninq. Understanding the position of the learner. Critical thought, independent thinkers: ability to think analyticallv and evaluatively - deeDening awareness. Authentic reflec{ion -> critical reflection. Praxis (relationship between reflection and action).
KNOWLES 1985	Principles of adult learning. For instance: problem centred approach to learning, and experience as a rich resource.
MEZIROW 1981	Theory of reflectivity. Human experience is central (perceptions, thoughts, actions). Both cognitive and affective aspects of learning are included in the model. Seven levels of reflectivity: 1) reflectlvity - awareness of a specific perception, meaning behaviour, or habit; 2 affective reflectivity - how felt; 3 discriminant reflectivity - assessment; 4 judgemental reflectivity - awareness of values 5 conceptual reflectivity - adequacy of concepts, 6 psychlc reflectivity - recoqnition of the habit of making iudqements on the basis of llmited information; 7) theoretical reflectivity - different perspectives for seeing, thinking and acting (cf.perspective transformation). Critical reflectivity (levels 5,6 and 7).

ARGYRIS 1978	Reasoning process - problem solving cycle. Learning occurs when people: (1) discover the problem, (2) invent a solution to the problem, (3) produce the solution and (4) evaluate the outcome. - Becoming an innovative and imaginative thinker.
KOLB 1984	Learning cycle: concrete experience -> observation and reflection -> generalisation and abstract conceptualisation -> active experimentation -> concrete experience -> skills acquisition through practice. Learning process may begin anywhere In the cycle.
JARVIS 1987	A model of the learning processes. Learning = a process of transforming experience into knowledge, skills and attitudes. Nine responses to potential learning experience: (1) presumption, 2) non-consideration, (3) rejection, (4) pre-conscious, (5) practice, (6) memorisation, (7) contemplation, (8) reflective practice, and (9) experimental learning. Different routes to different forms of learning processes In the model.
ENGESTRÖM 1987	Learning by expanding; an activity-theoretical approach to learning. Models of human activity for developmental projects and research. Learner involvement in all phases.

As Table 1 shows, different models of adult education emphasize much the same aspects of adult learning. Traditionally adult learning is seen as problem solving process with reflectivity. They are usually models which show step by step how learning advances as a cyclic process. This also concerns the model in this paper (Figure 1) with an exception that the routes may be different in different circumstances of learning.

The framework of this study is also a process model. 'Reflectivity' is now employed to show various routes which learning could follow.

3. A Framework for Adult Education

Figure 1 is considered in this paper as a general framework for planning and implementing adult education. Adult education may be a reaction to a change already happened or a preaction to command future changes in an adult´s life and/or in his/her environment. Phases 1-3 show the elements of the process to be taken into consideration when aiming at changes either by adult education or by other activities.

Although "adult education and learning" is presented as its own category in the model, it should be emphasized that adult learning is closely interrelated with all other categories, and it has reflections to all of them. The five phases in the framework can be worked through in the order given in Figure 1. However, this does not suggest that there is one order only: a process can have various combinations of the elements. For instance, institutional planning of adult and continuing education may follow the given order, but a learning task with special aim to produce alternatives for change may stress more a cyclic analysis between the categories 3 and 6 taking into account the actual context in the category 1.

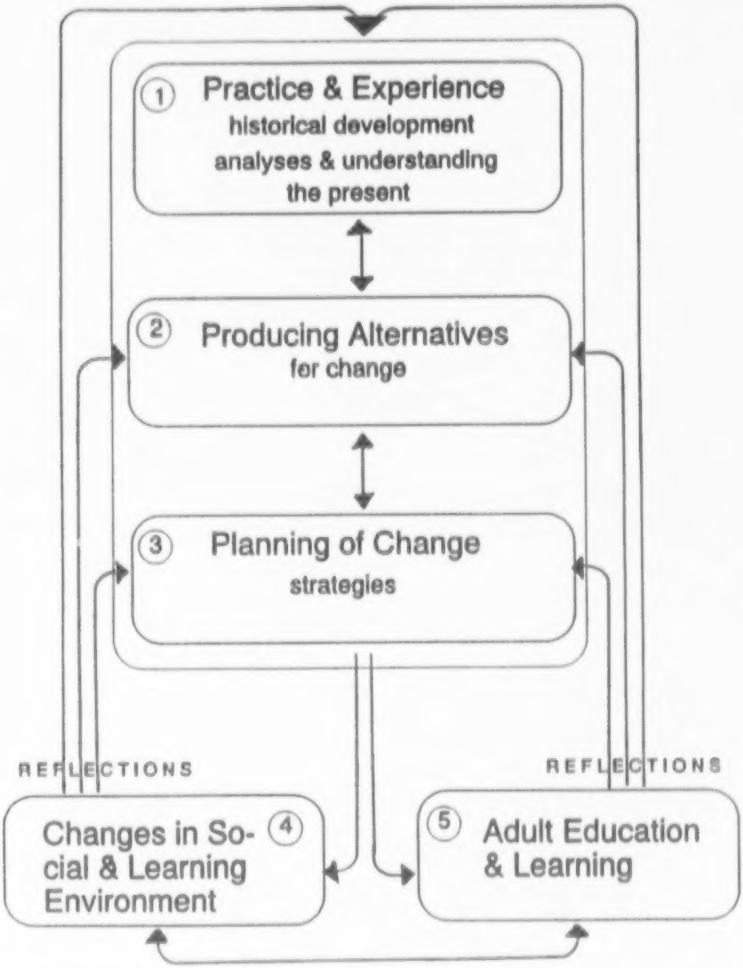

Figure 1. A Framework for Adult Education

The content of each category of Figure 1 is explained in the following.

Category 1. Practice and Experience

When planning a change in the actual context of the adult learner, it is essential to understand the reality in which an individual lives and his/her previous experiences. When planning a change the central qualities need to be identified to develop a relevant conceptual language for studies of adult learning. Historical understanding of everyday practices helps to find the key concepts. The dynamical nature of the present should be analysed in order to understand the circumstances in which a change occurs or the circumstances in which a change is needed. In this category it is essential to study how different qualities are related to each other, how parts make a dynamical whole.

Category 2. Producing Alternatives for Change

A change in an adult's actual life or practices often refers to a new structure or new qualities (cf. category 1). In some cases a change may necessiate new concepts to be taken into analyses because the old ones do not cover well enough a changing phenomenon. In planning, various alternatives for change should be identified, i.e. to find out new structures and interrelations of the qualities of work, everyday life and/or the social context.

Category 3. Planning of Change Strategies

Planning of change leads to strategic decisions about the desirable directions for change (cf. category 2), to chose between various alternatives which may result in adult education (5), or to changes in social and learning environment (4) or to a combination of these. In some cases a change may be better achieved by some other activities than adult education. Changes in an adult's life, especially when related to work, often include both education and other activities.

Category 4. Environmental Changes

The fourth category of the framework includes the other activities than education by which a change could be achieved. This also includes the activities which help to implement adult education, to decrease external limitations of learning (e.g. grants, day care). In some cases these activities may mean, for instance, a change of job, a new accommodation, marrige, divource, temporary financial help, retirement. Intended and nonintended changes in one's environment have influence on the content of the other categories of the framework, to category 1 (practice and experience), categories 2 and 3 (planning of change) and category 5 (adult education and learning).

Category 5. Adult Education and Learning

Implementation of adult education and learning (category 5) can benefit from the previous information available in categories 1-3. Planning of change could often be considered as an essential part of adult and continuing education courses when increasing the individual's ability to solve problems and to cope with changes outside an organised learning experience. This could mean in practice that a learning process includes analyses and definitions of key concepts of a phenomenon under study (category 1), the production of alternatives for change (categories 2-3), and planning of changes in the social and learning context (4) taking into consideration the role of adult education and learning (5) in a process of change.

Reflections

The importance of reflectivity between the learning process and the learning context is emphasized in many models of adult learning. This framework also suggests that analyses of reflections between different categories should be included in a learning process and in planning of adult education or other activities related to a process of change. For instance, when considering roles of adult education and learning, it could be asked: what sort of influence learning could have on everyday practices (category 1), on ability to produce alternatives for change (category 2), on the ability to make strategic decisions (category 3), or on the learner's social and learning environment (category 4). Similarly, it can be asked vice versa, what kind of influence categories 1 to 4 have when planning and implementing adult education. All categories of the framework with various routes of reflections can be discussed in the same way.

4. Discussion

The framework for planning adult education brings together the elements which are considered by the authors as central in building a holistic picture about different functions adult education and learning may have in processes of change. The framework could be used as a tool for quiding planning and implemention of adult education.

Adult learning is regarded in the paper primarily as a problem solving process. This view is also supported by other models of adult learning discussed in Paragraph 2. These models, as the framework here, emphasize cyclic communication between different aspects of a learning process. The framework shows, however, various reflective routes between the categories of a problem solving process, and gives different roles to adult education and learning depending on the place and function learning has in a whole process. Organized learning experiences in adult education are seen here as a way of increasing knowledge and skills needed to command better a process of change. A self-directed learner may as well follow the framework when seeking routes for individual processes of change.

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Elements of Teaching Materials in Multiform Instruction

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Abstract

In the future the majority of learning materials will be used more in distance education and independent study than in face-to-face teaching situations. To be useful in this situation educational theory needs a semiotic component defining prerequisites for the multiform education. the present paper presents a discussion of communicative elements and categories of discourse with their integration in a cohesive dramaturgy (or rhetoric) corresponding to the preferred dramaturgies used in communicative materials habitually consumed by the learners.

1. Introduction: search for elements, film language and multiform learning

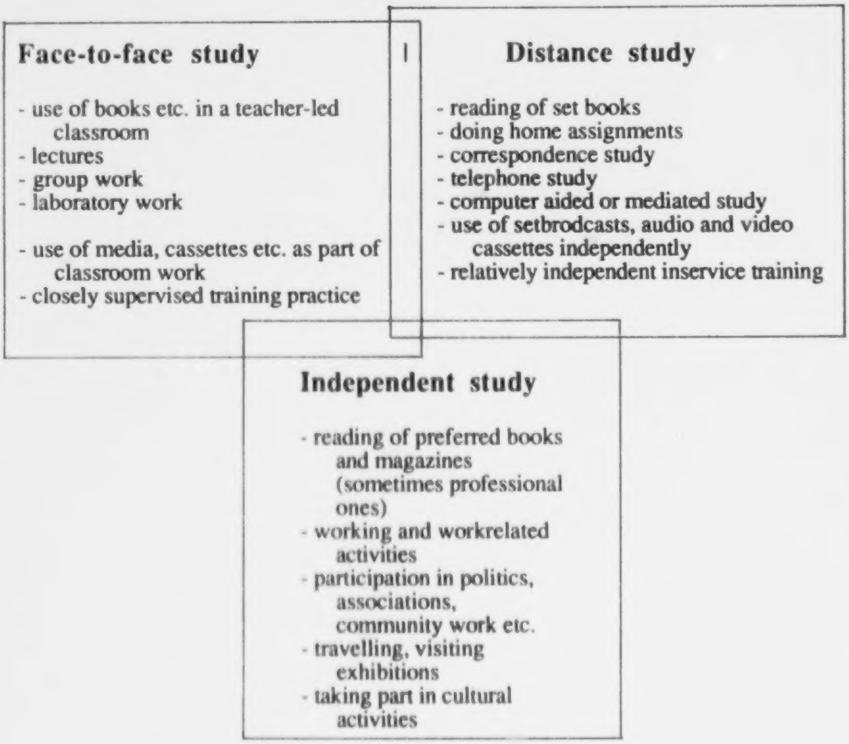
A well-developed theory of education should be able to give detailed advice for among other things - the preparation of learning materials. Despite the enormous amount of such materials produced every year all around the world this is not the case: many of them are inferior in ways that tend to alienate students from their content, cause a lasting passive resistance towards the subject-matter and - in less extreme cases - lead to erroneous learning. Although some conscientious work has been done on this question, it is mostly of practical nature, like trying to establish various kinds of criteria for evaluation of materials. This paper has also grown out of the same practical concerns: trying to guide the pedagogical writers preparing their manuscripts for adult education, especially for what is in Finland called multiform study. Main thesis of the paper is that

> it makes a difference, whether all the available communicative elements are used in a system of learning materials, and whether or not they have an inherently cohesive dramaturgy (or rhetoric) corresponding to some extent to the preferred dramaturgies used in various kinds of communicative materials habitually consumed by the learners.

I hope that even this kind of preliminary discussion might provide an impetus for the development of a more comprehensive theory for education, especially educational technology of learning materials.

The point of departure for my argumentation is the simple supposition that the prefered constitutive communication items of today's adults come mainly from television, and that, accordingly, the language that catches their interest is what is sometimes called film language. The moving audio- visual presentation in TV is of course not the only text they understand (and there is a sizable minority, which despises this vulgar medium), but although printed matter, radio, audio cassettes and computer screen all have their adherents, it is film montage which - beside personal face- to-face communication - catches the largest audience. And even for those who do not exactly love movies or TV the film language has changed the understanding of any messages, because it has given us a new dramaturgical understanding with its ubiquitous cuts, brief episodes, foreshadowings and rhythmically changing point of view.
The film language has partly been taken over by modern litterature, but the writers of learning materials seem to imitate the oldfashioned scientific prose. There certainly is merit in the latter style of communication, as it is developed to make the argumentation transparent. Still, often this very transparency is achieved by making the text repetitive, full of introductory information or dependent on some previous information unstated in the presentation itself. It tends to rely heavily on straightforward verbal techniques without dramatic emphasis and using pictures only as visual illustrations for the verbal exposition. Unfortunately this style often conveys better the authority of the text than the content of its argument, making believable something that is not fully understood. This, obviously, is the direct opposite for what the expositive discourse is used in science.

Multiform study refers to the fact that learning is only partially based on (any kind ofl instruction. The formal, school-based learning of children and adolescents creates an illusion of causal dependency between teaching and learning. For an adult there is but little correlation between these two, and the instruction only has a secondary, even if for some crucial times controlling, influence in the learning process. The concept of multiform study can be explicated by a tripartite division of learning activities to 1. face- to-face study, 2. distance study and 3. independent study (figure 1.).



Face-to-face study

- use of books etc. in a teacher-led classroom
- lectures
- group work
- laboratory work

- use of media, cassettes etc. as part of classroom work
- closely supervised training practice

Distance study

- reading of set books
- doing home assignments
- correspondence study
- telephone study
- computer aided or mediated study
- use of setbrodcasts, audio and video cassettes independently
- relatively independent inservice training

Independent study

- reading of preferred books and magazines (sometimes professional ones)
- working and workrelated activities
- participation in politics, associations, community work etc.
- travelling, visiting exhibitions
- taking part in cultural activities

Figure 1. Concept of multiform study.

Face-to-face study is based on teaching as an immediate interaction, distance study is a mediated form of instruction in which some medium (often a previously produced learning material) conveys the messages, and independent study is devoid of any formal curriculum. Modern telematic media allow distance study to be almost as immediate as a classroom situation. But true education is and, I believe, will always be based on independent study, the crucial question being wether the various forms of study support each other (perhaps with conflicting information) or block each other's influence.

2. The basic taxonomy of elements

The traditional Greek doctrine states that there are four elements: earth, water, fire and air. Altough there is no other connection between the present paper and the Greek physics but the search for elements, I suggests (just for the fun of it) that there are four elements for the learning materials: 1. text, 2. picture, 3. sound and 4. action. In discussing these I have in mind a specific set of materials: Mario Ruspoli's four part TV series L'art au monde des tenebres (Art in the World of

Darkness, Ruspoli 1983) with the accompanying book The Cave of Lascaux (Ruspoli 1986).

2.1. Text

The concept of text has in this connection three different meanings. First, all sense-conveying materials can be seen as coded texts, at least if they contain an ordered set of semiotic signs. This is the sense mostly used in text linguistics (e.g. G~lich & Raible 1977: 21-59) and in semiotics (Eco 1984: 24-25). Second, in a learning material the interconnected exposition of systematic subject-matter can be called text wether it is presented by words, pictures or other means. The emphasis is then on a kind of 'texteme', the deep structured textoid content that the material somewhat incompletely tries to communicate. This meaning is central, because, as Barthes notes in the introduction to Elements of Semiology, "objects, images and patterns of behaviour can signify, and do so on a large scale, but never autonomously; every semiological system has its linguistic admixture" (Barthes 1964, 10). Third, text refers to written texts in various materials, including pictures not primarily consisting of letters. In TV programmes the moving image may contain various texts and is often complemented with a text panel e.g. translating foreign language dialogue. A perfect example would also text in a comic picture, where the code clearly consist of pictorial and verbal components.

Text is the first elements, because the making of a learning material most often begins with writing a manuscript. It seems to be a special trait of Western tradition that although speaking certainly is the first and most authentic, self-validating mode of teaching, the book still seems to be the proper form of scholarship. Audio-visual media have changed the situation somewhat, but the use of computers as media for learning seems partly to have restored the domination by written text. With the enormous adolescent interest in music, new large memories for PCs, the scanners, CD-ROM for storage and programs for creating and using pictures this domination will probably change in favor of a new kind of balance between the elements.

Text (in second meaning) is made up of several relatively independent levels of meaningful units: sounds or letters, words or gestures, sentences and larger textual units. The most obvious phenomenon of text is language: there are many of them, some even based on gestures, pictures, whistling etc. The phenomenon is so rich and studied by so many branches of scholarship that it would be foolish to try to describe it here.

2.2. Image

Images are based on human visual capacity, the ability to handle information mediated by light. Images use lines, shapes, visual contrast, texture of materials, colour and space (Ocvirk & alii 1990) to express some subject matter reproducing a mixture of contents in definite form. There are two basically different types of images: inanimate pictures and moving pictures. Both can be made 1. in directly reproductive way using camera and light-sensitive film or a digital coding system or 2. with various artistic techniques thereby allowing the use of complicated transformations of content. These transformations can, however, as a rule be reproduced by elctronic devices, and the new inventions in this field may in the future largely come from computer-created special effects.

There have been several tries to master the language of images with some theory (e.g. Barthes 1980, Nordström 1989, Porcher 1976, Sonesson 1989) but in comparison to linguistics or branches of textual research they all seem deficient. A from pedagogical standpoint intresting example is Goldsmith's analytical scheme for syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features (unity, location, emphasis and text parallels) of illustrations (Goldsmith 1987) in Springer's two-volume The Psychology of Illustration.

In the Lascaux materials images are in the forefront as the whole series is a documentation of French cave art. Both the video programmes and the book are fine examples of text commenting and enlarging the message of superb pictures. Camera movements are in video form used to enhance the qualities of the object pictures. The technique makes it possible for a modern viewer to catch a semblance of a time when moving flame was the main source of light for the participants of cave rituals.

2.3. Sound

Sound-based materials are for human ears. Oral mode of presentation,with its ostensive concomitants, is, as mentioned, the original form of teaching. Edison's phonograph 1877 made it possible to reproduce sound in original form. Previously it was only possible to record texts (in third sense) for the new performances of the dramatic or musical works. Some of the learning materials have had this very purpose - and still have, when holy texts are recited in religious schools.

A modern sound-based learning material may be mixed of many different elements. A human voice talking (with variations like lecturing and interview) is predominant, but 100 % natural sounds, music and special sound effects all have their share. The techniques of digital sound editing are relatively new, and although rhetorics and musical theory make an old and respectable beginning for theoretical knowledge of the use of sound, we are only exploring the possibilities of an fastly widening technology.

The semiotics of musical works have been thoroughly studied (e.g. Nattiez 1975, Tarastil978) and there are books and articles about the planning and production of radio and cassette programmes. To my knowledge no true integration of the technology and knowledge to instructional theory exists. The ever widening use of telephone and cassettes in distance education needs such an integration - not to speak of the central task of understanding the verbal communication in face-to-face learning situations.

The Lascaux video materials use many of the above-mentioned variations. There is a constant beautifully poetic commentary by Ruspoli, several interviews with both specialists and the modern finders of the caveand various 100 % sounds including helicopter landing. The crucial presentations of the artworks themselves are accompanied by modern music, which focuses the viewer to the images themselves.

2.4. Action

Almost all learning materials exist to instigate some action in the learner. Action theories proliferate in modern psychology and they are widely used also in andragogical work (Engeström 1987). It is a basic tenet of cognitive psychology that cognitive structures change by the internal and external actions of the learner. One of the main tasks of learning material is, accordingly, to suggest such actions, structure them, and also to give some feedback of their success.

An important aspect of the action that has come to the foreground with the arrival of computers is gaming. Use of games is an old tradition, but computer's ability to store information makes the games instructionally important even for a solitary player. Game-likeness will certainly be an important part of future theory and has already created much interest among educators.

At first glance the Lascaux materials do not seem to suggest any action beside reading and viewing. But after viewing half an hour of the first programme one begins to wonder. Could I possibly find caves half as magnificent as Lascaux? At least one could visit the simulacrum built after closing of the original caves. And what detailed examples does the program give for persons interested to try the primitive way of life - at least the viewer certainly becomes interested in making stone tools (and later in the series also painting one's own cave shrine).

3. Categories of discources

It is not enough only to point out the basic elements. Every element has its characteristic codes with grammar-like sets of rules of their own, and the whole material (a text in the first sense) is a more or less balanced mixture of discourse by one or several of the elements. In litterature and film research much work has been done to identify the distictive features of their object discourses. Very little of that kind of research does exist for learning materials. We do not have for instance representative studies of the various genres of learning materials although such functional and historical groups certainly do exist. Likewise I have not seen an analysis of the stylistic features of learning materials, although there obviously exists a wide range of variation in this respect and it may well be that in many cases a style of expression that is inapropriate for the user may distract learning.

The above concerns are not on the same level as the four basic elements. Taking materials as texts there is a very 'elementary' question of text-types, which should be contemplated before taking into account before others. It has usually been discussed with the name of narratology, or the theory of narrative structures (e.g. Bal 1988). But all discourse is not narrative, and learning materials are a case in point. Their common type of discourse is expositional, a presentation of alleged facts in some systematic order. This is complemented with other types like argumentation, evaluative statements etc. I will call a discourse like this 'declarative and evaluative treatment' to make a distinction with various kinds of narrative treatments.

3.1. Declarative and evaluative treatment

For most subjects declarative treatment is the preferred way of presenting the contents. The main declarative text-type is simply an arranged list of items. The items are named, their characteristics are described and perhaps some mention is made of their uses. In many cases the arrangement follows more or less the structure of a scientific theory. Seymour Chatman calls this text-type description and gives a good elaboration of it in the interests of narratological theory (Chatman 1990: 15-21).

Another nonnarrative text-type is clearly argumentation. It is not listlike in structure, but a discussion of two or more alternatives, trying out arguments or reasons on their behalf. The theory of logic was originally developed for the sake of argumentation, to give rules for relative merits of the chains of arguments. Socratic discourse is, in essence, prolonged use of argumentation to activate the learner. Perhaps he does not learn anything (as Socrates states), but by getting several new angles to the matter in hand he certainly enlarges his perspective. (See Chatman 1990: 56-73 for argument in film.)

It is not entirely clear whether evaluative expressions constitute another declarative text-type or not. Their openly affective nature favors this interpretation. They could be treated as mere lists of inner convictions, but description would be a poor term for their dynamic power. Anyway, There is not enough research for the didactic use of such grammars, however. Such as exist (e.g. Kieras 1983), do paradoxically themselves not communicate well to learning material writers and producers. And there are other paradoxes, too (for instance, why does the all-important dramaturgical perfection not matter, if the learners are aware that the material is prepared by a teacher specially for their group?). As a conclusion I dare to propose that we need detailed research in the semiotics of learning materials: in the grammars of the basic elements and especially in their dramaturgical integration to programmes and sets of learning modules.

in the inner dialogue of a learner they have an important role, which must be taken into account in including evaluations in the materials.

3.2.Narrative treatment

A narrative text tells a story. It has a plot, a time-line of events with a motivating beginning, a continuation maintaining the suspense and an end discharging the tension, sometimes with catharctic effects. It may also include a teller's point of view, which may be entirely different of that of the story's acting persons (or learner's).

The story must have a reason to start with, some problem or objective, it must have persons, whose actions constitute the story and it also must have localities (however exotic or mundane). Often there is some path or other along which the episodes of the story unfold. - Historical research results are since Herodotus treated narratively. Historical narrativecan be used for most of the subjects, as they all have heroic narratives of their founding fathers - and mothers as well.

Narration does not require as much concentration from the learner as a listwise declarative treatment. On the other hand, a narrative without description, argument and evaluation would be rather uninteresting at its best.

3.3. Dramaturgical integration

Any learner has grown to expect a rhytmically varied flow of exposition of the materials he uses. The rules that fulfill these expectations are culturally determined, and with movies, radio, TV and computers they have been changing relatively rapidly.

For a modern television viewer a prolonged exposition to a paragraph of text continuing for pages does not work, neither does the image of a lecturer just enumerating vocally items of his/her subject. The latter may be O.K. for a person who is present in a face-to-face learning situation, but not for mediated materials, as the image and sound lack the powerful presence that a living person often has.

Some of the rules of narration are obvious and widely known. To have an effect, some suspense must be created from the very beginning, nurtured during the prolonged text and, if possible, climaxed near the end. Both cognitive psychology and film language emphasize the importance of alternation between wholistic scenes (giving a map for the orientation) and the details viewed from close distance (giving verisimilitude). The rhythm comes partly from this alternation, partly from the contrapuntal rise of text, image and sound to the forefront like the various instruments in a jam session. The Lascaux materials are an excellent example of this.

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The Future of Adult Education — a Keen Competition for Adult Students

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Abstract

The article examines development trends in adult education on the basis of future images of adult educators, which were factor analyzed in order to identify development trends that are forecasted to continue, as well as future threats and desirable structures. Empirical results show that future ima- gining is partly unstructured, partly polarized into two alternatives. One of the most likely future scenarios in Finland is a keen competition for adult students.

The purpose of the article is to study processes of continuity and change in adult education on the basis of future images.

What do we want from the future? Answers to this question depend on the kind of images we have of the future. According to earlier articles of Hirsjärvi and Remes 1983; 1986; 1988), Hertzberg (1986) and Blinnikka (1982a;1982b;1987), images of the future express an individual's personal view of life, their own way of assessing the present and their way of adjusting to it. If these images of the future are regarded as hypotheses whose credibility is based on proven material, we cannot but agree that the choice between alternative images is random. Although we are not responsible for verifying our images of the future, we are responsible for them in another way. The images we acquire or give to others guide the ways in which we, and other people, mold this view we have of our future. Polak (1973) believes that future images influence in many ways the present activities and decision-making of inviduals as well as communities.

Slaughter (1991) suggests there are two major "strands" in futures study. One is the strand which examines perceptions of futures. The other attempts to come to grips with processes of the continuity and change. This article seeks to apply both strands. It is based on the relationship between the present with its future tendencies and a) a desirable future and b) a future of threats.

In the recent literature the present is discussed from the perspective of the future from the two following aspects. 1) The present as an image of a 'normal future'. According to Ketonen (1986), the question is to what extent we can transfer the past and the present into the future. The basic assumption is that what has been happening so far, will continue to do so with certain changes also tomorrow. This is what we call linear projection. Kahn (1967) observed in the development of Western society over many centuries a "basic long-term multifold trend". Past and present trends are projected into the future. In terms of methods the present trend is the basis for the forecasting of future, as the Commission on Educational Planning (1973) notes. If, based on the description of the present, we can say how the known factors influence each other, and if we can technically control this plurality, we can create for ourselves a picture of a certain type of normal future. 2) The future as plurality of chances based on the present. Mannermaa (1988) builds his view of the future as an objective thing on that of Marcovi's. Any developmental stage, even the present, in culture, technology, and economy, offers a kind of 'objective field' of possibilities, in which a large number of factors prevails whether we acknowledge it or not. "One cannot talk prudently about a single predicted future, but rather must describe several plausible futures", says Harman (1979:15). The underlying purpose of the future study and teaching is not to predict but to enrich the present, Slaughter (1991) notes.

Method

One hundred and seventeen adult educators participated in the study. They were personnel working in vocational schools who participated in the Adult Education Now! -information campaign in Finland 1989-90. The distribution of some basic background variables in the sample was as follows:
Sex: 60 % (n = 70) females, 38 % (n = 44) males, 3 no response
Age: mean 43 years, sd=7.8, range 24-61 years
Position: 30 % (n = 34) principals or associate principals, 20 % (n = 22) heads of adult or service departments, 50 % (n = 56) teachers and instructors of vocational subjects, 4 no response
Number of years in the present job: mean 6.6, sd 6.8, range 0-25 years.

The subjects were asked to produce responses to three questions:

1. To identify the possible threats and the potential crises of the future of adult education.
2. To extrapolate probable fields in which the future is seen as an unsurprising continuance of the present.
3. To outline a desirable adult education for the future in order to help clarify goals and un- derstand values.

The data contained 832 future images. These images were classified into 124 categories according to the continuities, threats and desirable futures they had presented. Of these, 43 were categories of threats. The largest threat categories were school burn-out, inability to cooperate within adult education, the introduction of new materials and methods and limited resources for adult education in general. There were 35 categories of continuities. The following categories occurred most frequently: favourable attitudes toward adult education, maintenance of the present educational organization, maintainance of the grading system and continued discussion on resources for education. The largest of the 46 categories of desirable futures were: the impact of internationalization and foreign labour on the need of adult education, increased flexibility of the educational organization, increased individuality in studies, and the solving of students' social problems. Numbers 1 to 0 were used in classification: to whether or not the future perspective belonging to the category occurred in the answer.(Remes 1990;1991.)

Results

The structure of future perspectives in adult education was analyzed using factor analysis. The analysis has been conducted separately for continuities, threats and anticipations. The results are examined as five and six factor solutions.

The stucture of continuums

The factor analysis on the structure of continuities included 35 future perspective variables.These five factors explain 19.1% of the total variance of the variables. The first factor is called *Availability of adult education personnel*. All the items with the highest loadings in this factor are concerned with the assessment of the terms and conditions of employment in adult education. Should there be a shortage of teachers in the country, the availability of teachers would also in the future depend on benefits that teachers perceive to result from working in adult education.

The second factor is called *Continuum of labour - market orientation in adult education*. The items with the highest loadings on this factor have in common that the contents of adult education are dictated by the goals of labour policy. Labour issues, especially the availability of skilled workforce, influence the development of adult education. Simultaneously educational equality improves, if studies are degree-orientated.

The third factor was named *Self-regulation of learning*. In this factor study goals are set according to each adult's life-situation and aspirations and the study program is based on the student's practical problems.

TABLE 1.The stucture of future perspectives predicting continuities of present trends. Factor analysis, 5-factor principal axis solution, varimax rotation

Factors and loaded variables	**Loading**
Factor I: **Availability of adult education personnel**	
Teacher availability as a continuous problem .	.74
General issues concerning adult educators .	.60
This factor explained 4.9% of the total variance.	
Factor II: **Continuity of labour market - orientation in adult education**	
Shortage of work-force .	78
Development of equal opportunity in education.	.56
This factor explained 4,3% of the total variance.	
Factor III: **Self-regulation of studies**	
The present life situation of an adult student .	.87
This factor explained 3,6% of the total variance.	
Factor IV: **Continuity of studies with intrinsic value**	
Preservation of status quo	.51
Voluntary avocational education	.46
Women's perspective .	.46
Educational needs of women .	.45
This factor explained 3,4% of the total variance.	
Factor V: **Continuous changes in vocational requirements**	
Change in the nature of work .	.55
Continuity in the education process (subjects, materials).	.53
Favourable attitude toward adult education .50	.50
This factor explained 2,9% of the total variance.	

The fourth factor was called *Continuity of studies with intrinsic value*. The items with a loading exceeding .45 shared the viewpoint that adults will continue to study in order to improve their general knowledge and personality traits. Part of the organization will remain as it is, to fulfil one of the traditional functions of popular adult education: avocational education. Women's interest in studies has increased faster than men's.

The fifth factor was called *Continuous changes in vocational requirements*. Items described the qualification requirements arising from new production methods. Adjustment to these changes requires both secondary-level vocational education and a positive attitude toward adult education.

The post-industrialist society of changing qualifications is often referred to as "the learning". Learning in adult education will continue on the basis of the subject division used in secondary-level vocational education and related material, until the time is ripe e.g. for the introduction of project-based distance education, for example.

From the factor analysis one can deduce that the duality of the functions of adult education will continue to prevail. Factors II and V have to do with *vocational education* connected with work. Factor III and IV refer to *avocational studies.* Factor I brings out the main issue concerning both tasks, that is, teacher resources. A combining element within the divided field of adult education will be degree-orientation. As teacher shortage prevails, a student will have to rely upon several schools in order to achieve a degree. It will be difficult for schools to carry out the task divisions in practice. A part of degree studies will be carried out in vocational schools and a part, language and physical education for example, in evening schools.

The structure of desirable trends

The factor analysis of the structure of desirable trends included 46 future perspective variables.

These six factors explain 18,8% of the total variance of the variables. The first factor derived from desirable future perspectives was called *Research and development in adult education.* Items were concerned with review that there should be research-based data to support the development in this field. Educational administration would provide a link between practice and research.

The second factor was called *Alleviation of obstacles to study.* Variables loading highest on this factor were concerned with an adult education policy that would remove the worst obstacles to participation. The need for student financial aid will also apply to foreign students as well as emigrants and refugees.

The third factor was called *Evaluation of pre-requisites of adult didactics.* Items suggest that in the future one priority will be the development of adult didactics. Pre-requisites to development included positive attitudes toward adult education, and sufficient resources.
The fourth factor was called *Satisfaction of adult demand for education.* Women's participation with a loading exceeding .43 shared the view that education should be made available to everybody in order to satisfy varied educational goals. Anttalainen (1986) has showed that the labour markets in the Nordic Countries are divided on the basis of gender. According to Ojalehto (1990) adult education ought to be developed organizationally

and contentwise so that it would be able to better meet women's educational needs.

TABLE 2. Structure of desirable future trends. Factor analysis 6-factor principal axis solution, varimax rotation

Factors and loaded variables	Loading
Factor I: **Research and development in adult education**	
Research, planning, follow-up	.66
Educational administration	.53
This factor explained 3,6% of the total variance	
Factor II: **Alleviation of obstacles to study**	
System of educational leave	.69
Student-social affairs	.59
This factor explained 3,6% of the total variance.	
Factor III: **Evaluation of the prerequisites of adult didactics**	
Methods of teaching and study	.60
General development of adult education	.59
This factor explained 3,3% of the total variance	
Factor IV: **Satisfaction of adult demand for education**	
General desirable perspectives connected with educational processes	.66
Increase in women's participation	.43
This factor explained 3,0% of the total variance.	
Factor V: **The organization of further education**	
On-the-job training	.57
This factor explained 2,7% of the total variance.	
Factor VI: **The appreciation of self-improvement**	
Appreciation of adult education	-.42
Evaluation and assessment of learning results .	.42
This factor explained 2,6% of the total variance.	

The fifth factor was called *Organization of further education*. A feature shared by these future perspectives which obtained the highest loadings, is that they all include "learning at work". The most popular form of this is on-the-job training.

The sixth factor was called *Appreciation of self-improvement*. Items with the highest loadings all expressed a similar attitude toward self-improvement. The factor contained items which portrayed goal-oriented vocational learning and its organization, as well as avocational studies.

Factor analysis showed that the removal of study obstacles was seen as a favourable future trend. This was indicated by factors referring to a quantitative increase in study activity (Factors II, V and VI) and to its qualitative development (Factors I, III and IV).

The structure of threatening trends

The factor analysis of the structure of threatening trends included 43 future perspective variables.

TABLE 3. Structure of threatening trends. Factor analysis, 6-factor principal axis solution, varimax rotation

Factors and loaded variables	Loading
Factor I: **Undervaluation of qualifications**	
Difficulties in job placement	.49
Educational fatigue	.48
This factor explained 4.1% of the total variance	
Factor II: **Threat to adaptation**	
The changing role of educators	.67
Moving from one occupation to another	.60
This factor explained 3.9% of the total variance	
Factor III: **Threats in adult didactics**	
Teaching duties, burn-out	.63
The quality of teaching and its modern relevance	.49
This factor explained 3.5% of the total variance	
Factor IV: **Depreciation of adult education**	
Depreciation/a fashionable trend	.84
Competition between public and private education	.42
This factor explained 3.3% of the total variance	
Factor V: **Polarizing impact of adult education**	
Equal opportunities issue, accumulation of education	.49
Other threats concerning appreciation	.42
This factor explained 3.0% of the total variance	
Factor VI: **Obstacles to study**	
Student social issues	.41
Use of time and motivation	.34
This factor explained 2.4% of the total variance	

These six factors together explained 20.2% of the total variance of the variables. The first factor was called *Undervaluation of qualifications*. All items predicted a crisis in vocational adult education. Continuing technical development indicates, on the one hand, that education should be upgraded and, on the other hand, that manual labour and routine tasks are decreasing. This means unemployment and at the same time shortage of skilled labour. New jobs are often created in new fields, new businesses and new occupations. Redundant employees tend to react by discounting the value of education or by claiming that it is useless. It may also prove difficult to get teachers for jobs in new technological fields.

The second factor resembles contentwise the first one. Based on the main variable, it was named *Threat to adaptation*. Items refer to the inability of adult educators and their students to control constant changes and new developments. Toffler (1973) calls this "future shock".

The third factor is called *Threats in adult didactics*. These items all refer to the estimation of teaching resources in adult education, that is, to the allocation of teachers' time and energy. As there are not many teachers specialized in adult education, the same teachers do daytime work in secondary level vocational schools and teach night classes for adult students. The threat in didactics arises from the fact that there are no resources available for precision-made study schedules.

The fourth factor is called *Depreciation of adult education*, after its main variable. These perspectives share the view that study goals are set according to what is fashionable. The entire basis for the planning of adult education may collapse if schools organize identical classes without any kind of cooperation and scheduling. This may lead to complete vanishing of education from certain areas while others enjoy increased resources.

The fifth factor was named *Polarizing impact of adult education*. All the items expressed the fear that the gap between different groups might become wider. Adult education may contribute to the formation of marginal groups, if changes in the labour market require new qualifications. Polarization will also occur within the group of adult students. Life situations, for example, increase and influence polarization.

The sixth factor is called *Obstacles to study*. All the items in this factor describe reasons for nonparticipation in adult education. Lack of student social support, restricted learning abilities or inappropriate adult didactics were mentioned as possible obstacles. These factors may be connected with problems in motivation.

The factors that arise empirically from threat variables could be called the inability to meet the demands of industry and commerce, ie. inability to survive the task-specific education of vocational life. This external threat to students' achievements appeared empirically in factors I, IV and V; also the lack of means of achieving these goals was manifested in the results (factors II, III and VI). Nordhaug (1991) recommends that future research focuses more extensively on the largely neglected field of work related training.

The percentages of explained variance in the three above factor analyses ranged from 18.8 to 20.2. Correlation analyses showed that some of the future images do not correlate with other images. There is a large number of future images and they do not necessarily constitute a well-structured whole. The factor analyses also included variables with minimal loadings.

Discussion

The quantitative and qualitative structure of the images of the future indicate anticipation of changes in many areas of adult education. Vocational adult education is strongly prioritized today (Council of State Secretariate 1990). In spite of this, the respondents' future images were dominated by threatening perceptions of the future. Naturally, the priority status of adult education also raises numerous hopes among adult educators, although many of the present trends are expected to remain the same in the future. The following will summarize contentwise the themes that rule adult educators' thinking concerning probable future. ***Probable*** are such trends as already exist in some form and will continue to be regarded either as desirable trends or as threats even tomorrow. This scenario can be called "Keen Competition in Adult Education".

Firstly, it is likely that competition will be increased by the division of tasks in adult education into vocational education serving the needs of the labour market and into avocational study. Ultimately, the contest will be about resources for adult education. Avocational study is losing its position within adult education, but avocational study, as well as every other form of adult education outside the labour market, justifies its presence with its intrinsic value and self-improvement, regardless of objectives. A common factor will, however, be the degree-orientation in adult education. Schools can be grouped neither into those serving the labour market nor into schools concentrating on avocational study. Some of the degree studies will be conducted in vocational schools and some, such as physical education and language studies, in open colleges or worker's institutes as suggested by the Committee on European Languages and Cultures (1991).

Secondly, competition will probably exist between vocational fields, schools and geographical areas. This competition concerns students, mainly women employed by the public sector, whose obstacles to study will decrease because of financial aid to adult students (Storhammar 1991). The decreasing obstacles and increasing study activity are often represented in adult educators' images of desirable futures.

Thirdly, numerous signals indicate competition for people's time. Employer organizations are now attempting to reclaim their employees' increased leisure time. The most important point of view of participation in education may be the possibility to get educational leave from work. In addition, many of the factors connected in some way with the problem of the extent of participation in adult education and leisure-style. As several former studies have found out there was a positive relationship between participation in various voluntary organizations, sports, and cultural activities on the one hand and participation in adult education on the other. A negative relationship has been found between adult education participation and less demanding activities, such as watching television and reading popular magazines. (Bergsten 1977.) Fourthly, competition will be found in adult education between on-the-job training and off-the-job courses. The inability to adapt to the rapidly changing requirements in commerce and industry has been seen as a threat. This is associated with the discussion on the effectiveness of education. Vaherva (1983) notes that it is the lack of this effectiveness in off-the-job training that is the origin of the crisis in education. Salmenperä (1990) considers the current fads, short weekend seminars and courses as being a waste of the nations resources. A good job includes learning new things. It is likely that at least in personnel training there will be competition about the amount of education given in specialized organizations in the form of off-the-job courses or carried out as on-the-job training.

If the likely trend in adult education is increased competition, as suggested earlier in the interpretation of the future images, it will mean that adult education units need to evaluate their own activity. This evaluation will be based on the methods developed along the lines applied in the reorganization of corporate planning strategies (Malaska 1990). First of all one has to ask, in what kind of environment an adult education organizer will have to survive, and in what kind of environment organizer will want to survive and succeed.

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Quality Circles as Learning Environment

Urpo Sarala

Abstract

The article examines quality circles (problem solving groups) as an aspect of the work community, especially as a learning aid in the light of Finnish experiences and experiments.

Introduction

Demand of effectiveness and higher level of the worker education stress importance to develop new methods to organize work. The aim of this study is to develop quality of work by involving work processes closer than earlier to planning and development (psychic challenge). Hacker (1987) calls this kind of work "the whole work". We ought to design work processes and structures in such a way in order to promote personal development through opportunities to acquire new knowledge, gain insight in technical and organizational features, organize own task's recognize and use the full range of one's capacities and acquire experiences which are valuable beyond the immediate work situation (Volpert et al. 1983). It is also said that the worker must be also a producer of the knowledge he needs in work. Sköld (1989,105) writes: "In order to be a producer of knowledge the worker must first, however, have an opportunity to be a problem solver because this is the only way of developing new knowledge. The worker must have the chance of using his knowledge on real problems; he must work towards solution of the problems himself".

In practice this idea has been applied to self-directed, groups e.g. in quality circles. Quality circles are personnel groups in an organization. The group members come together regularly to solve problems they confront in everyday work. These problems may decrease the quality of work, not only the quality of products. There are usually 4-6 people in one group with common tasks in the organization. The leader of the group can be a foreman or somebody else: many groups have an ordinary employee as the group leader.

As Bernstein (1976) writes: "The search for alternative to managerialism has led to many different political movements, scientific experiments, and autonomous trial-and-errorexperiences. Each of these has operated from at least one of the following perspectives: 1) an attempt to change how the employee experiences his/her work situation 2) an attempt to reserve the prevailing trend toward extreme division of labor and specialization 3) an attempt to change the power relations between worker and manager." Reorganizing and developing work is often a problematic process. At the beginning the participants can be enthusiastic but soon a group may confront many difficulties. For instance, there can be difficulties relating to salary questions, responsibility and power. Working in a self-directed group can be understood as a learning process which demands skills and attitudes which are not needed in traditional tayloristic work. On the other hand, this kind of cooperative actions offers changes to learn and to think. Lövberg (1989, 212) underlines the human being as a problem-solver and constructor of his own knowledge. A problem solving self-directed group can be used as an organized learning environment.

Self-directed group as a learning environment

In work organizations most group based learning happens in other situation than in organized learning courses. This kind of learning can be regard as informal learning or everyday learning.

As Sköld (1989,105) writes: "In order to be a producer of knowledge the worker must first, however, have an opportunity to be a problem solver because this is the only way of developing new knowledge. The worker must have the change of using his knowledge on real problems; he must work towards solution of the problems himself." Most educational research deals with school learning or organized learning (formal or nonformal learning). However there has been efforts to combine these formerly separate concepts. Methods and concepts of self-directed learning has been developed. These events have been conceptualized in many ways; self reflection, action learning, expansive learning etc. Generally speaking these are methods to combine work, critical reflexion, research, supervising, learning and teaching as an integration.

A quality circle can be seen as a self-directed working group. The level of autonomy varies according to groups and organizations. Research on quality circle activity often concentrates on problems of informal learning. The research project of quality circles aims at increasing understanding of processes of learning. The study has been done in the Building Bureau of Helsinki. The three year project started in 1988.

The Building Bureau of Helsinki has about 500 workers. It's responsibility is to build and maintain official buildings, streets and parks in Helsinki. In the bureau there has been quality circles since 1984: twenty circles are now active. The groups have solved about 200 problems related to quality of work: these include problems in mental and physical environments, organizational questions and sharing the work load. Practical intelligence and practical knowledge are emphasized as a mental tools in the group work. Until now there has been more than 500 meetings. One meeting has lasted from 1-2 hours.

Work of self-directed groups has been followed by the research team throughout the process. Costs and benefits have been assessed in each group. Innovations made by groups have leaded to saving of 1 million mark between 1984-1990. Most innovations have resulted in savings of time and materials. In most cases the quality of work has increased without extra costs.

The above findings refer to economical aspects of innovative approaches. However there are many other influences: better work attitudes, higher motivation, better organizational climate, innovations in ergonomy and work environment. A special interest of the research project is to analyze and facilitate learning in self-directed groups. Group learning has been studied from perspectives of the whole organization.

Participants of new quality circles were trained autumn 1988. A training course was designed so that besides some basic skills needed in quality circles activity, reflectivity and planning of future action had a central role in training. Some groups received regular feedback of their problem solving processes. The research group has developed group processes by training, follow up, feedback, guidance and supervision in order to make members of groups gradually aware of work as a continuous and challenging learning process. There is an intention that problem solving in groups does not concern daily experience at work. but the participants develop skills to analyze systematically relevant facts and information for making innovations at work. At the same time they strive towards a more abstract cognitive level. Some groups have succeeded in this. It can be assumed that this kind of learning process will be an essential part of the future working life. This assumption is based on the view that traditional training programs or everyday experience as such are not enough in rapidly changing work life. The employees need to become involved in selfdirected and systematic work development.

The research project concerns both the development of individual and work organization. The organization is encouraged to give support to quality circles, and learning in problem solving is seen essential activity at individual and group levels. Learning in group (collective learning) is a special interests of the research group. At the same time it can be analyzed how individual and group activities could be synchronized into the larger organization and how group activities could increase voluntary development of the wider organization.

A primary assumption is that work in quality circles could in an ideal situation support learning. For analyses of learning in groups the basic concepts and the theoretical framework for learning in groups need to be defined. The processes will be studied by applying activity theory and cognitive models of learning.

In cognitive learning theory ('cognitive didactic'/ Yrjö Engeström 1987) a special interest is in the concept of 'orientation'. Quality circles have made concept mapping of work and cause-effect analyses. This is one way of reorientation and to reconstruct and develop work. This process is followed intensively. Every session of a quality circle group is recorded and analyzed.

Self directed processes at individual and group level is divided into three main steps as usual in analyses of problem solving (1) The first step is to identify problems in everyday work, and then to choose some problems for further investigations (2) The second step is to simulate different solution and to choose a most suitable one (3) The third step is to put the idea into practice.

The first step necessitates that the members analyze their own work, often in wider contexts of the organization. The second step employs theories of problem solving. The third step (realization) may use theories of innovations, for instance.

The research questions

A quality circle is an example to find out possibilities to increase learning at work. The research questions of the study are the following:

- How is it possible to learn to analyze own work in a wider context of organization?
- How is it possible to learn problem solving and how to command changes in the organization?
- How is it possible to develop skills and knowledge at information processing?
- How is it possible to develop 'life skills' and attitudes towards the self and the environment?

When there is interest to understand developmental conditions of organization; it is not enough to study individual and group level only. As Leyman (1989, 121) writes: "The infrastructure of social contacts between people and the balance of power between them affects the course of events to a much greater extent than the efforts of the corporate education department, for example." And Layman continues (1989, 122): " Little heed is paid for the fact that the organization itself as a learning environment may reinforce or weaken the learning process, or even distort the subject matter it was intended to teach." Recent literature on these themes emphasizes man's productions of concepts and beliefs as a social process that involves interplay between the individual and the collective (Löfberg 1989, 149).

There is a need to synchronize individual, group and organizational levels in a well functioning whole. In addition, individuals and groups need help to develop qualitatively higher levels of work orientations.

Research methods

We use mostly qualitative methods but also some quantitative examinations. For instance we have recorded every meeting of an quality circle during one year. This material have analyzed by discourse analyses.

Some preliminary results

It can be said that activity in quality circles offers many possibilities for group and individual learning. The learning in quality circles can be developed in three different context as follows:

1. The development of "traditional" quality circle activity by combining training of learning abilities and quality circle activity. In practice this means that skills of knowledge aquisition is being taught in preliminary course for group leaders and groups. Conscious components of learning has been emphasized. After course groups have get feedback from their activity. Some extra courses has been offered to the need which has been activated in groups during problem solving processes and developmental work.

2. The methods of problem solving of quality circles can be used also in usual self-directed production group in industry. Usually these groups have been used mainly for enrichment of work. With quality circle method it's possible to open a new dimension of continuous development as japanese has done in their self directed groups in industry.

3. By using quality circle methods and principles it's possible to create a communication and development network in an organization and between different organizations. In this case the members of groups can be from different levels of organization. There can be also some important client in this kind of groups, too. The members can use modern technology in communication for instance electronic post box, telephone conference etc. This kind of activity has tested with quite good results in Finland, too.

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The Development of Trade Union Education and New Challenges -A Finnish Perspective

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Abstract

This paper presents the development of Finnish trade union education and those social changes which have come to influence it. The education of trade unions can be divided into three phases: Workers' Education (1907—1940), Labour Education (1940—1968) and Education for Participation and Co-operation (1968—). The paper points out how the goals, the contents, the target groups and the organisation of trade union education has developed in these phases. Finally, it has been analysed how the trends in the system of collective bargaining, production, participation and learning will effect the need for development of trade union education in the future.

1. Points of Departure

There are at present four central confederations of workers and employees in Finland. The oldest and largest of them is *the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions* (founded in 1907 under the name of *the Trade Union Organization of Finland*, later on in this article referred to as the SAK) which has traditionally represented manual workers in manufacturing industry as well as other sectors of employment. At the moment the SAK has about one million members. The other three central organizations of employees are *the Confederation of Salaried Employees in Finland* (TVK, founded in 1922), *the Confederation of Technical Employee Organizations in Finland* (STTK, founded in 1946) and *the Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland* (AKAVA, founded in 1950). The division into workers and salaried employees is no longer very clear. Today about one fourth of the members of the SAK, for example, are salaried employees who mainly work in lower clerical jobs.

Figure 1. Membership of central confederations
in 1907-1990.

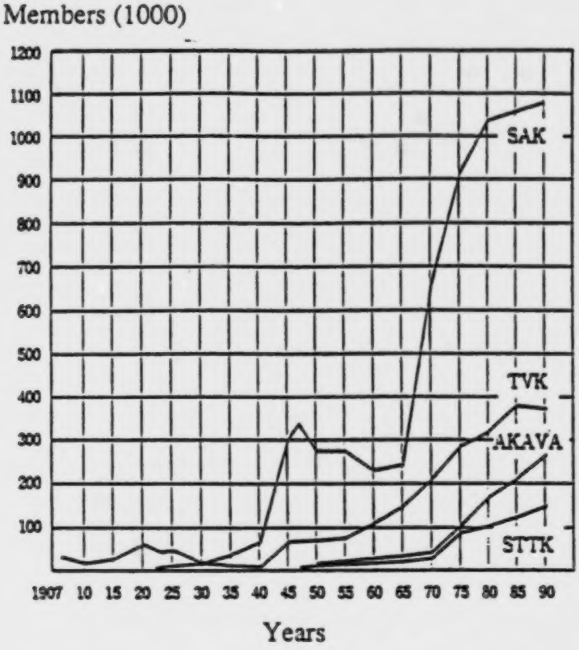

Figure 1. **Membership of central confederations in 1907—1990.**

In Finland, like in the other Nordic countries, the percentage of unionized employees is quite high (about 86 %). It is worth noting that the percentage is about the same for manual workers and salaried employees. There are comparative studies of the rate of unionization in different countries and they show that a high percentage of unionization generally correlates with comprehensive and detailed collective agreements as well as with a wide recognition of trade union activity by employers and the whole society (Kauppinen 1985, 133—134).

The general policy of trade unions — i.e. looking after the interests of their members — also provides the basis for trade union education (here used as a general concept). It is impossible to define trade union education on the basis of its content, since the educational needs of union members vary considerably at different times and in different societies. In general, it can be said that the primary goal of trade union education is to develop such knowledge, skills and motivation in the employees that they necessarily need to be able to participate in trade union activity and to promote, in co-operation with others, the institutional, social and economic goals set by the trade union movement (Whitehouse 1979, 2—3).

When we look at the trade union movement from the perspective of organization theory, we can see that in order to be successful in its advocation of the members' interests the trade union movement must — like any other organization — take care of its internal *efficiency* and *cohesion*, as well as the *productivity* of its activity. Internal efficiency means that the trade union functions flexibly and efficiently as an organization. This presupposes that the trade union movement has informed and active officials and elected representatives available. To be able to work efficiently as a collective pressure organization the trade unions must form a mass movement which will integrate its members into the culture and goals of the trade unions while at the same time helping the members identify with these to a sufficient degree (internal cohesion). In this context, the productivity of activity means that the goals which have been set are achieved either in full or at least to such an extent that the individuals will maintain their membership in the organization. All the basic tasks of the organization mentioned above are inter-related. Failure in one area will lead to weakened opportunities for activity in others.

The significance of trade union education in maintaining the internal efficiency and cohesion within the trade union movement as well as ensuring productivity of activity is undoubtedly essential. When the emphases in interest policy have changed over time, it is only natural that the content, target groups, goals and organization of trade union education have also changed (see e.g. Dwyer 1977; Robinson 1969; McIlroy 1988; Fisher 1984; Whitehouse 1989).

This presentation aims to clarify the following aspects:

- What are the central change factors affecting the interest strategy of the unions?
- What are the stages of development of the Finnish trade union education?
- What are the present developmental visions and challenges of trade union education?

This study is part of "The research programme on lifelong learning" (1990—1992), launched by the Academy of Finland. The theme of the subproject is "The development of occupations and the forms of continuing learning". Its aim is to clarify those structural factors which promote/prevent the workers' opportunities for continuing development and learning in working life.

2. Pressures for Change in Interest Policy

In this context I shall not deal with the totality of interest policy strategies of the trade union movement. Instead, I shall focus on such aspects that can be considered to be influential from the point of view of trade union education.

Agreement system. In principle, there are two alternative ways available to employees who try to cope with the problems caused by the change in working life. The *individual strategy* means that the employees will only aim at improving their own position by trying to progress to a higher level in the occupational or professional hierarchy of their work place. The second strategy means that the employees try to improve the conditions of the work place *collectively* by participation in organized trade union activity and commitment to the trade union culture (Gulowsen 1988, 161). The collective strategy can be carried out on different levels by, for example, the central confederation, the trade union or association, or a vocational group in the work place.

In the past the employers did not recognize the trade unions as an equal negotiating party, and they generally made individual wage agreements in the work places. Nowadays a nationally controlled corporative labour market system (Wexler 1987, 63) is used in which the central confederations of employees in co-operation with the employers' confederations and the government agree on the general framework of collective agreements as well as on the direction of general social policy. At the moment there is a lot of discussion about breaking down this centralized system; this change would bring negotiating power down to the level of trade unions and work places. It is seen that the present system does not correspond to the requirements of flexibility and efficiency in today's industry. In 1990, 50 % of the members of the SAK were of the opinion that more often than today wage agreements, for example, should be made in the actual work places (Helin & Erkkilä 1990, 52). Both within the trade union movement and among the employers there are now quite conflicting views about the need to reform the labour market system. If decision power is delegated downwards, the trade union movement will face an entirely new situation in which it will have to redesign its own policy of interest strategies. For trade union education, too, this would mean a great challenge.

Object of interest advocation. In its interest policy the trade union movement has traditionally concentrated on so-called *distribution issues* (wages and salaries, employment, hours of work, unemployment benefits, etc.). They are matters which are easily converted into concrete and measurable goals (mostly money). Discussing *production issues* represents a more recent development in interest strategies. These issues refer to the content of work tasks, division of work, education, production techniques and products themselves (Alasoini 1989, 123—124).

The SAK has for a long time shied away from discussing production issues. The organization has feared that through participation in the development of work the workers' representatives will be committed to responsibility for the company and this, in turn, will alienate them from trade union activity (Alasoini 1989). It has to be borne in mind, however, that the trade union movement has always criticized the Taylorist and Fordist models of work management in which mental or intellectual work (planning and development of work) and manual work (performing the work) are separated from each other, which has led to the division of manual workers and salaried employees into two distinct groups. The present work model has been seen as an obstacle which makes it impossible to increase flexibility and efficiency of work or to develop the content of work. The model also prevents participation and development efforts by the workers and employees themselves. At the moment employees in Finland are highly motivated to take part in the decision-making concerning changes in their work tasks and work places. Two thirds of the members of the SAK report an interest in such activity (Helin & Erkkilä 1990, 43—45).

As both domestic and international competition gets keener the employers, too, now consider it necessary to involve their employees in the discussion of the ways in which the efficiency and productivity of the company could be enhanced. This can happen either by ignoring the trade unions — in the extreme case by attempting to eliminate them (americanization of work) — or by trying to make the trade unions committed to the philosophy and views of the company. In principle, the trade unions can respond to this in three different ways:

1) They can withdraw from all other activity except for strictly traditional issues of collective bargaining (the traditional British model);

2) they can commit themselves to the success of their "own" company (the Japanese model); or

3) they can try to combine commitment and attainment of reforms by expanding the employees' democratic rights to influence the entire company policy as well as technological and organizational reforms (the Swedish model) (Julkunen 1987, 104).

The present Finnish work model falls somewhere between the British and the Swedish models. The other Nordic countries — particularly Sweden and Norway — already have a long tradition of experiment and development projects in working life which have had a favourable effect on the progress of industrial democracy (Sandberg 1983). In Finland there have been only few opportunities for this kind of research. In recent years, however, a few research and development projects have also been launched in Finland, mostly prompted by economic crises.

Emphasis of interest policy. Traditionally, the trade union movement has followed closely the reforms proposed by employers, mainly with the aim of preventing any harmful effects to the workers. Nowadays the trade union movement, however, has assumed a more active role in the reforming of working life. The Union of Metal Workers, one of the largest unions of the SAK, adopted "anticipative interest advocation" as its goal in the mid 1980's. According to this philosophy, the union has tried to follow the changes occurring in the work environment as well as to anticipate their effects on the workers. On the basis of this, various plans of action and new methods have been designed in order to prevent and solve potential problems. Even though the efforts in anticipative interest policy have not been very successful as yet, this new emphasis at least shows one thing: the trade union movement is now fully aware of the fact that it is not enough simply to follow the employers' policy-making and to respond to it. In other words, the trade union movement should, more than before, be able to take the initiative in development work. Changing old attitudes and developing new worker-friendly strategies have been difficult. It is apparent that in the future the trade union movement will have to put in a much greater effort in its own research activity and to include education and practice as an integral part of research.

Requirements set to work. Traditionally, paid work has been looked on by employees as the necessary "evil" which is only done for the money. Paid work has ensured the "real" life which takes place in the free time. Such an alienated attitude towards work has been natural in industrial production which has been led in the Taylorist or Fordist fashion. Even though a good salary is still the most important goal in working life, more and more employees today emphasize the significance of the quality of work demanding that their work should be changed in a more human direction (Helin & Erkkilä 1990, 26). Meaningful and challenging work is seen as something worth aiming at. The characteristics of "good" and "bad" work have been studied, and the researchers of working life today seem to agree that work should also be mentally satisfying by providing opportunities for continuing learning and development (see Marsick 1988; Abrahamsson et al. 1990; Engeström 1990; Leymann & Kornbluh 1989). The trade union movement itself is now aware of the fact that by advocating wage issues only the quality of life of the employees cannot be improved. Changes in the work expectations of employees - especially of young people - have also forced both the employers and the trade union movement to take an active interest in the work itself and its development. This makes new demands on the trade union activists who must familiarize themselves much more profoundly with the development strategies of working life and lifelong learning, as well as with the questions of basic/further vocational education.

All the above examples reflect the fact that the traditional interest policy no longer functions in the present changing situation. The trade union movement should move away from the macro level collective "comprehensive solutions" to advocation of employees' interests in the work place where their individual needs can also be taken into account better. Moreover, the trade union movement should give up its rather passive strategy of simply following the changes that are taking place and, instead, develop more active strategies which help the workers anticipate more consciously future changes and their effects. Trade union education must be involved in the development of this new interest strategy and it must spread it among all its members.

3. Stages of Development in the Education Provided by the SAK

3.1. Workers' Education (1907—1940)

General development. In the early stages, the Trade Union Organization of Finland (SAJ), the predecessor of the SAK, focused on creating a system of collective agreements, shortening the hours of work and improving industrial safety. As a result of the Civil War (1918), the possibilities of trade union activity in Finland were weakened essentially. Before World War II it was primarily only local or regional agreements that were signed in Finland because the Finnish Employers' Confederation (STK, founded in 1907) was against collective agreements. Neither did the conservative government wish to recognize the trade union movement and its rights to advocate the interests of the workers. The SAJ was dissolved in 1930 by public authorities, but the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) was started immediately afterwards. Since the rate of unionization was quite low in those days (see Figure 1), the possibilities of the SAK to support its members' were indeed weak.

Education arranged by the SAK. In the early stages of the trade union movement the focus was on arousing the working class to awareness of its own subordinate status and finding a way out of this situation. The main goal was to increase the collective power of the trade union movement. On the one hand, this required agitation of large circles of workers and, on the other, educating the representatives of the movement to cope with their tasks (Vesterinen 1990, 11—12). The first trade union courses were organized in 1909, and a couple of years later the first two-month "party course" was organized in co-operation with the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Organization of Finland, the SAJ. From 1911 onwards, the trade union movement itself began to organize one-month courses. The Workers' Educational Association was founded in 1919, and it started organizing study circle activity for trade union activists. The SAK, which had started operating in 1930, adopted its educational model from the Swedish LO. In 1932, the SAK and the Workers' Educational Association began to arrange four-week trade union courses together in the Workers' Academy (a folk high school owned by the Social Democratic Party). These Academy courses continued until the 1950's when the trade union movement built its own institute in Kiljava (Tuomisto 1981).

At this stage the education provided by the SAK was an integral part of the other educational activities of workers, which seems to have been the case in the other countries, too (see e.g. Dwyer 1977). The goal of the education was, in addition to disseminating trade union information, to raise the level of general education among workers as well as to improve their civic skills.

3.2. Period of Labour Education (1940-1968)

General development. In this period, the trade union movement established its position in the Finnish society. In order to retain peace in society the Finnish Employers' Confederation, STK, and the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions, SAK, signed an agreement, the "January engagement", in January 1940. The Finnish Winter War (1939—40) was still going on at the time. This was the first time in history that the employers recognized the SAK as an equal party in collective bargaining negotiations. After World War II, when the labour movement had a central role in the activity aiming at social reforms in the country, there were attempts to democratize decision-making by setting up so-called production committees. They never grew to be of importance, however. The legislation on collective agreements and arbitration of labour disputes was reformed in 1946. The rapidly growing membership gave the SAK more collective power (see Figure 1). In work places the power and influence of the trade union movement was visible, above all, in the system of shop stewards and production committees. In the 1950's and 1960's the trade union movement was split into two central organizations (SAK and SAJ), which reduced the movement's power. Mutual disputes and disagreements also resulted in decreased membership.

Labour education. As a result of more established activity and a higher rate of unionization, education soon became a central field of operations. It gradually grew to be independent of other educational activity among workers. Two trade union institutes were founded, one in Kiljava in 1950 and the other, Pohjola, in Northern Finland in 1956. Both of these institutes are folk high schools and are thus state subsidized according to law. They are mainly involved in organizing long-term courses (first courses lasting from autumn till spring, later three-month courses), primarily directed to shop stewards. They also arrange one-month summer courses. Study circle activity continued as before in co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association and the People's Educational League (the latter was founded in 1964 by the People's Democratic Party). In study circle activity the target group was the whole membership. The largest unions also started organizing courses for their own members, mainly in the form of locally arranged courses and study circles. The aim of trade union education was to give officials and elected representatives the knowledge and skills that they needed to be able to act in the trade union movement as well as to represent it in the work place.

3.3. Education for Participation and Co-operation (1968—)

General development. From the point of view of the labour market, it is justified to call the period from 1968 onwards *the period of collective agreement policy*. It is based on the ideology of a long term economic policy, mutually agreed on by the national government together with the employers' and workers' organizations, which ensures implementation of comprehensive socio-political reforms and continuing development of the different sectors of working life. The system of collective bargaining was extended to new groups of people and issues, which meant that the different negotiating parties had to develop their own organizations for these functions as well as to educate specialist personnel for them. In the late 1960's a lively discussion about industrial democracy was started, but concrete measures were only taken in the late 1970's. Integration of the trade union movement in the late 1960's marked the starting point for a new rise in the movement which was also reflected as a rapid increase in the membership (see Figure 1).

Trade union education. During the period of collective agreement policy new systems of participation in the work place have provided the basis for trade union education. The SAK has aimed to provide the persons involved in the various co-operation and collaboration committees with sufficient information on the field of activity in question.

At present the official local system of participation includes the following: *the system of co-operation* (Act 1978/88, Act 1989), *the system of industrial safety* (Act and Decree 1973, Agreement 1976), *the system of shop stewards* (Agreement 1969), *the system of rationalization* (Agreement 1986), *personnel representation in company administration* (Act 1990) and *the law on personnel funds* (1990). It is worth mentioning that the new legislation on co-operation stipulates that, among other things, the curriculum for the education of the different groups of personnel in a company has to be mutually negotiated. Of great importance has been *the agreement on education*, signed by the SAK and the STK (the Finnish Employers' Confederation) in 1971, which states that, on certain conditions, the employer reimburses to the employees the costs incurred by their participation in trade union education (loss of wages and meals). This education agreement has covered, for example, courses for shop stewards, courses in rationalization, industrial safety and industrial democracy.

Education within the SAK has grown vigorously since the 1970's. The volume of education seems to have started to grow considerably about the same time as in the United States (MacKenzie 1976, 108) and in Great Britain (Fisher 1984, 211). According to an opinion poll carried out in 1990, 22 % of all the members of the SAK had taken part in trade union education. Participation by elected representatives was naturally even more common: 66 % of them had participated at some point. Even though the number of participants has continued to grow, participation by ordinary members is still not extensive (Helin et al. 1990, 51—52).

In 1990, the SAK institutes had 12,000 participants on their long courses (1—2 weeks), 45,000 participants on their short courses (1—4 days) and 8,000 participants in their study circles (Vainio 1991, 8). The courses, on which the teaching is mostly task-centred, are primarily intended for shop stewards and other elected representatives. Computer studies are currently an important part of the teaching programme. The increase in trade union education can be seen clearly in the number of students at the Kiljava Trade Union Institute (see Figure 2). Three member unions of the SAK also have their own folk high schools: the Murikka Institute (founded 1980) is owned by the Union of Metal Workers, the Siikaranta Institute (founded 1981) by the Union of Construction Workers and the KTV Institute (founded 1985) by the Confederation of Salaried Employees in Finland. The programmes of the short courses and study circles focus more on vocational issues and matters related to changes in working life.

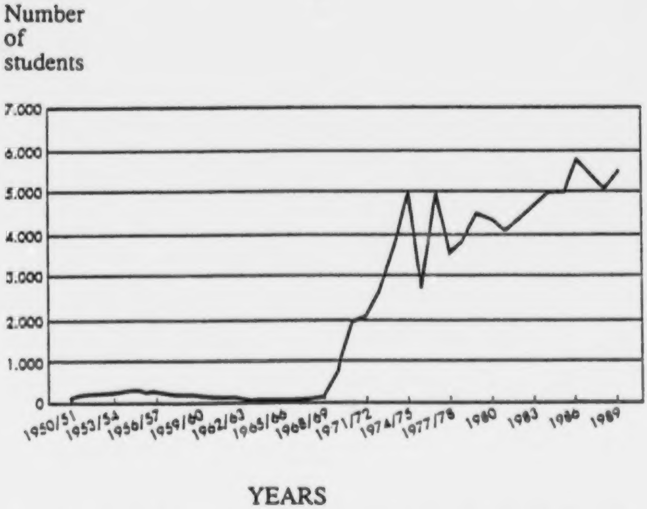

Figure 2. Trade Union Institute, Kiljava. Number of students 1950—1989.

Although the SAK has never regarded vocational education as its own area of responsibility, a large part of its education is, in a general way, job-related or job-development-related (e.g. courses in industrial safety, rationalization, business adminstration and law, and computer technology). The SAK considers that organizing and financing actual vocational education is the responsibility of employers and the state. The representatives of the SAK, however, now take part in drawing up the plan for the company in-service programme, even though the final decision power is with the management of the company.

4. Future Developments and Challenges

The system of collective bargaining

A general trend in the 1990's has been decentralization of the system of collective bargaining. Hardly anywhere can one find a system of agreement policy as centralized as the one in Finland. Thus it can be said that there is only one direction in the future, that is, to decentralize. It may be that in Finland, too, we shall gradually move away from the present comprehensive general agreements to union or cartel agreements, or agreements made in individual work places. This would mean that the future task of the central confederations would be to look after the interests of their members more generally, while issues related to the actual work and development of occupations would be dealt with by the member unions and work groups in the work places. This requires more efficient education on these levels. The task is demanding, for it means involving all employees in trade union education.

At its worst, moving decision power down to the level of the work place can lead to *enterprise corporatism* (the Japanese model of work) in which the trade unions will in fact reject the idea of the workers' common interests and will only concentrate on securing the direct interests of their own members (Brulin 1989, 131). This trend is reinforced by the individual wage systems and incentives created by the employer (Alasoini 1990, 62—63). It is evident that controlling such a system would be very difficult for the trade union movement which is organized nationally and across companies. It would also weaken solidarity within the trade union movement as well as its possibilities of advocating general welfare policy. It remains to be seen whether the SAK will be able to bring its members together in the future, too, to support the organization's policy of equality.

Sooner or later there will be a move away from *the macro level corporative negotiating system* to a more decentralized system on lower levels. This will mean that the number of negotiators will grow. To counterbalance specialization, the members of trade unions will need more of such comprehensive and general education that will help them understand their own status in the labour market, both nationally and internationally. On the other hand, the members will need a more profound knowledge of the special problems in their own field of work. If this education is left to the employers, there is the fear that the views of the employees and the trade union movement will be totally ignored, while the company goals of efficiency and economy will stand out.

Production system

Even though the SAK has continuously demanded that the quality of working life should be developed, it has not actively tried to include production-related issues in its own interest policy. The initiative seems to remain with the employers who in their ceremonial addresses have referred to work force as "the most important resource of any company". In practice, however, they have shown an interest in restructuring work tasks only when it has been considered necessary to alleviate the negative effects of Taylorist rationalizations (Alasoini 1989, 123). Some companies have, however, adopted a more favourable attitude towards employee participation in the development of work quality. As a result, common negotiating and planning groups as well as "quality circles" have been established in work places. Experiences from these reforms are still limited and some of them even conflicting. A keen and critical study of these experiments continues.

The present stage of technological change should be seen as an opportunity for something new rather than as a threat. No one has a very clear picture of how the present system of production should be developed so this situation is open to new and individual ideas. Therefore the trade union movement should in its education deal with the questions of production development much more that it does currently. Another question which needs to be clarified is how to secure the interests of the members in the actual work. To develop the content of work requires expertise which can be found in the work places, on the one hand, and among the researchers of working life, on the other. Teaching old models should be given up; instead, the workers themselves should start developing alternative models. Many researchers are of the opinion that the inter-relationship of practice, education and research should be totally reconsidered; they belong together and they should not be isolated from each other (see e.g. Usher & Bryant). This vision also includes in-service education. According to the present law on co-operation, the employer has to hear the workers in the planning of in-service training. This is not enough, however; the workers should also have real decision-making power in the planning and implementation of in-service and refresh training.

Participation in the handling of production questions is a sensitive problem to the trade union movement since this kind of philosophy requires commitment to pragmatic cost-effective thinking in return for certain concessions made by the company management. This will necessarily affect the traditional role and interest strategy of the trade union movement. Meaningful work, however, is a central factor which influences the wellbeing of workers in a total way. Therefore the trade union movement cannot afford to leave its development in the hands of the employers only without losing credibility in the eyes of its own members.

The system of participation

Securing the employees' own view in the systems of industrial democracy is no simple matter. It not only requires formal channels but also real factual activity, interest, vistas, knowledge, etc. For example, a representative of employees who takes part in company administration should have a thorough knowledge about business economy in order to contribute fully to his task. This is usually impossible. The employer, on the other hand, can generally make use of academically educated specialists. It can be said that, as far as influencing is concerned, the resources are at the moment very unevenly divided even if the formal channels for participation exist. To be able to influence, a trade union activist must study a great deal but he must also be able to mobilize other workers to support him and the issues he is advocating.

Studies do not support the idea that employers would be afraid of industrial democracy. In Sweden employee participation in industrial democracy has already been going on for a long time and the employers have generally regarded this participation as favourable. They do no think that it would somehow complicate decision-making or take too much time and money. Both employers and trade unions are of the opinion that decision-making has remained in the hands of the owners and management because trade union participation has been rather passive and weak (Julkunen 1987). The employees would of course like to increase their real influence. It presupposes more experience, however, as well as continuing studying. The trade union movement must take these new needs into account in its education.

Some time ago the SAK proposed to the employers that education in participation systems should be provided in co-operation in such a way that the costs would be covered by the employer. In addition, the trade unions could organize separate education of their own. In any case, the trade union movement has to see to it that its elected representatives have the ability and skills to act as full members in the decision-making machinery of enterprises - not only as silent partners.

The system of learning

Researchers who are interested in lifelong learning have for some time now requested that working life should be developed in a direction which would ensure an individual's opportunities for lifelong learning and development. They have criticized sharply the traditional behaviourist concept of learning which can be regarded as a pedagogical application of the Taylorist work relation model. Their recommendation is that the behaviourist concept should be replaced by "critical reflectivity", and Marsick (1988, 195) calls for a "new paradigm" consisting of the following features, for example:

> "A broadening of the instrumental focus of learning, integration of personal and job-related development, an organizational model that functions as a learning system, a focus on group as well as individual learning, a concern for critical reflectivity and for problem setting as well as problem solving, emphasis on informal learning, and development of the organization as a learning environment."

Developing work places into learning organizations has also been requested in many other books and studies on the development of working life (see e.g. Abrahamsson et al. 1990, 54—55; Engeström 1990; Leymann & Kornbluh 1989). The development of working life into a positive learning environment is still in its infancy, and it is not at all certain that it will be totally successful. Nevertheless this perspective is undoubtedly so important from the point of view of the employees' quality of life and interests that the trade union movement should be involved in this work. The trade union organization forms a part of the totality of working life and should itself make an effort to provide continuing development and learning opportunities for its members. This is the more important the fewer opportunities there are available to the employees in their own work.

5. Conclusion

As can be seen from the above, the education provided by the SAK has developed from workers' education to more specific labour education which now rather strictly adheres to the needs of union activity. In the period of collective agreements, the point of departure for trade union education has been to meet the educational needs set to employees by the various participatory and co-operative systems. In the present stage more and more attention has been given to improving the qualifications and developmental skills which the workers need in their actual work and vocational activity. It seems that in this respect the educational interests of the employers and the workers are approaching each other, although they will hardly be fully identical even in the future.

In the present process of change the trade union movement has adopted a defensive attitude. It has not been able to search for new opportunities which might open up as a result of change, if the emphasis in the activity were transferred from issues of distribution to those of production. Lots of experiments and action research projects have been carried out in different parts of the world and they might offer points of departure for exploring new opportunities. In its own education, the trade union movement should develop in employees such skills and knowledge that will enable them to participate in this kind of activity together with researchers. It is necessary to rethink the inter-relationship of practice, education and research in a totally new way. So far, at least in Finland, all of these areas have been virtually isolated from each other: the knowledge and experience of researchers, educators and employees have not been compiled into a body of knowledge that would benefit all parties. Yet it is only by this means that a new strategy of interest advocation can be developed which would better meet the demands of modern working life. Moreover, this would lead to real "anticipative interest advocation" which also takes into account the workers' needs.

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NORWAY

The Governing of Knowledge:

The case of work-related adult education and training

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Abstract

The focus of the article is the governing of work-related adult education.Several factors indicate that work-related adult educations will play a major role in future politics. Two main questions must be posed:

- How can the work-related adult educational system be characterized today? The investment in knowledge is increasing , both inside the public and the private domain. The number of providers is increasing and the question of coordination and governing is urgent.

- Knowledge, in the form of work-related adult education, has been established as an important "tool" within public policy. This is obvious within labour market and regional policies. It is important to study the character and the limits of this "tool". A scetch of a possible analytical path for the analysis of these questions is presented.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to discuss the questions concerning *the governing* of work-related adult education and training. Such a discussion is needed because of the increasing importance of knowledge in different areas of society, especially inside the sphere of work. The discussion is based on ongoing studies of the work-related adult education system in Norway.

2. The increasing importance of knowledge in work life

Work-related adult education and training has played a minor role in Norwegian educational politics and has been looked upon as a supplement to elementary, secondary and higher education. Several factors indicate a change in this perspective, and that adult education will play a major role in future educational politics, as well as in future politics in general:

- Work-related adult education plays an important role in the ongoing technological and organizational development of work. Rapid changes within both industry and service, an increasing international competition and an ageing population demanding new knowledge and other skills, underlines the importance of such education and training.
- Work-related adult education differs from ordinary, basic education in one important way. The connection between the educational and labour-systems is much closer here. It is, potentially, possible to exchange knowledge and experiences two ways, -from educational to labour-system, and vise versa. In a situation characterized by rapid changes this aspect will be of great value. To a certain extent it will also be a guarantee of functionality and quality.
- The scale of adult education is increasing in Norway (Institutt for samfunnsforskning, 1990; Gooderham,P.N and Lund,J.,1990). Recent research shows that approxi mately one third of the employed population take part in some form of adult education during one year. The same is the case for other countries, for example Germany (Eidskrem,I., 1991; Gottsleben,V., 1991).

3. The "new" knowledge-providers

The way work-related adult education is organized and govemed has changed in an important way in Norway. Knowledge-providers *outside* the traditional adulteducation domain play a more and more important role. The investment in and support of work-related knowledge has become one of the most important ways of developing society. Knowledge has replaced traditional direct support strategies, i.e. in the form of state subsidies in branches and companies. The change may be described as a change towards investment in human capital.

The question of governing knowledge thus confronts *a paradox*. On the one hand, knowledge has to be governed, -it must be looked upon as an "object" demanding administrative and political control and coordination. On the other hand, knowledge is in itself "a tool" which may be used inside different areas of society, for example in labour-market policies and in the economy in general.

The development within work-related adult education reflect priority changes within a number of different sectors of society, not a policy change within the educational system as such. Compared to the sixties, seventies and eighties, we can for example *not* speak of a greater emphasis on lifelong learning by the educational authorities. The emphasis on lifelong learning being represented by economic and administrative bodies outside the educational system.

The increasing, but uncoordinated investment in knowledge, is gradually creating a new educational system where none has the general overview and where the total result, good or bad, may be described as accidental.

This is partly made possible by the negative development within the traditional adult education. The economic resources available for adult education have decreased during the eigthies, and the responsible county-authorities seem to find other areas and activities, i.e. ordinary secondary education, more important

The following examples will illustrate the importance of the new knowledgeproviders in Norway today:

- *Labor market politics:* The increasing importance of training and education as elements. in the labour-market policy is important for the work-related adult educational system as a whole. "Labour market training" (AMO: Arbeidsmarkedsoppl~ering) and "Company integrated training" (BIO: Bedriftsintern oppLering) will amount for more than 2 billion NOK in 1991. The Ministry for Work and Administration (Arbeids- og administrasjonsdepartementet) is today one of the major financing-sources for work-related adult education. Although formally responsible to the Ministry of Education (Kirke-, utdannings og forskningsdepartementet) in questions concerning quality and standards, the AMO- and BIO-policy may be looked upon as rather independent from the rest of the educational system, this including traditional adult education.

- *Regional politics:* During the last decade, knowledge and education has become a more and more important part of the Norwegian regional politics. We can observe a change from the investment in buildings and equipment towards the investement in knowledge and skills. The Ministry of Local Administration (Kommunaldepartementet) was responsible for knowledge-related activities amounting to approximately SOO million NOK in 1991. Although some effort has been made towards cooperation with the Ministry of Education (Bj0rnåvold,J and Lie,T.,l991), most knowledge-based activities are sector-internal.

- *Industry politics in general* are characterized by stronger emphasis on training and knowledge. The tendencies described above, can be found inside each single industry. The situation within the sector of fisheries illustrate this. In the last part of the eighties, systems for administration and funding of training have been established in cooperation between state and industry itself. This means that the Ministry for Fisheries, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Industry, create and administrate their own work-related knowledge systems, - systems which only in part, and only on a formal basis, are coordinated with the ordinary educational system.

- *Reforms within the counties and municipalities* support these tendencies. We can observe a stronger integration of knowledge, adult-education and training into the general economic planning conducted at county and municipal-levels. Although at a premature stage, this points to a strategically new role for adult education within the public domain.

- *The importance of the private sector:* It is very important to note the fact that the companies and branches finance and organize a considerable amount of training and education themselves. Although lacking precise information on the exact volume of this activity, research show that company-integrated training, often as an integrated part of organizational-development, are becoming more and more common. The same can be said about the establishment of training-divisions inside the bigger companies. This means that the mixture between public and private financing and organizing is far more imporatnt than what is the case in ordinary education. A fact with consequences for the question of goveming: The number of relevant knowledge providers is dramatically higher than within traditional educations, and the limits for public goveming are narrower.

The investment in knowledge inside these "new" sectors represents, both when considering resources and participants, a far more extensive effort than what is represented by the traditional adult educational system govemed through state legislations and county grants. The 1991 grants for traditional adult education financed through public means amounted to 726 million NOK. The public grants for work-related adult education and training through the above mentioned sectoragencies amount to approximately 2.500 to 3.000 million NOK[1].

Thus we confront a complex situation. Everybody interested in solving problems connected to employment and industrial development, will also engage inside the area of knowledge and work-related adult education. We do not cope with one governing body, but with several.

4. The question of governing knowledge

The situation described locates the work-related adult educations in a totally new context, characterized by complexity and the danger for fragmentation. This may be understood in two ways: One is that we are creating "an invisible educational system" where nobody has the general view and where no coordinated effort is possible. The other view may be that knowledge is integrated into society in a qualitatively new and better way, and that this creates new possibilities for governing and stimulating the society.

What is certain is that the question of *governing principles* arise in a manner which as yet has not been reflected in the Norwegian debate on educational politics. This lack of debate is not typical for all countries, and especially the German debate may serve as a starting point for elaborating these questions. We can speak about a *polarizatio)l* in the debate on work-related adult education and training in Germany (Eidskrem, I.,l991; Gottsleben, V.,l991).

One position is held by those demanding a stronger central (public) control and coordination of the work-related adult educational system. This position, of which social-democrats and labour-union representatives are spokesmen, points to the need of *quality-control,* the development of *public knowledge- and skill-standards* and the need to secure *access to adult education,* stressing everybodys right to education (and especially work-related adult education) in a democratic society.

The other position can be characterized as market-liberalist, and underlines the importance of a free and functioning market. The basic argument in favor of governing by market, is that *versatility, functionality* and *quality* only can be guaranteed through competition. Especially the functionality-argument seem to be of great importance, the view is that competition secures a better adjustment of supply and demand than what a state controlled bureaucratic body is able to do.

The Norwegian work-related adult education and training system can neither be characterized as governed by state nor market. The system is, as already indicated, governed by a high number of sector-agencies and providers, between which there are few coordinating elements. The bill on adult education, issued 1976, has never become the governing instrument it was meant to be. On the contrary, its importance has gradually decreased during the eighties.

From a governing point of view, the Norwegian situation leaves us in a sort of vacuum. The power of the sectors leave us with an imperfect coordination system, few of the qualities integrated in a centrally controlled system is achieved, - there exists a great uncertainty connected to the access to adult education outside the traditional system, the use of resources or the quality of "products" is to a very little extent evaluated. On the other hand, few of the qualities related to the market system can be ascribed the Norwegian system. The public financing of work-related adult education and training is of main importance, and at most we can speak about an imperfect market. Competition may be found inside the system, but its effects on quality and functionality are uncertain.

5. Values, dilemmas and principles: The complexity of governing knowledge

The goveming of work-related adult education and training is a complex and difficult matter. As the German debate illustrates, important symbols and values are confronted: The question of market versus state control and coordination is one, the question of competition versus everybodys democratic right to participate in education another. These are central values which have to be considered by everbody wanting to take part in the debate on governing. These value- and symbol-conflicts are important elements of the debate on education and knowledge as such, but there is reason to believe that the conflict is more distinct inside the field of work-oriented adult education. This is due to the fact that the private sector play a far more important role here than in the rest of the Norwegian educational system. The mixture between public and private initiatives and financing is fundamental in the sector.

On the basis of these remarks and the picture we have drawn of the Norwegian situation in the passages above, we shall, in a more systematic and principal way, elaborate the question of governing work-related adult education. We will do this in three stages: *First* by presenting some of the central value-dilemmas which may be forseen and have to be coped with. *Second* by presenting some possible governing principles. These are theoretically founded principles demanding further elaboration and work. As ideas and starting points for discussion, they may be of some value.

Lastly, we will suggest a way to combine the perspectives presented in these two passages. Although limited to a sketch, it presents an analytic perspective on the study of work-related adult education in special and knowledge in general.

5.1 Dilemmas of governing

The fact that the work-related adult education system is characterized by strong sector-agencies, an important mixture of public and private financing and organizing and few independent coordinating bodies, dilemmas of these activities are even more distinct than what else would be the case.

- *The question of national, local or regional governing* represents one such dilemma (OECD, 1988). During the last decade, the decentralization of power has been strong inside the norwegian educational system. Although having many positive effects, the balancing between local autonomy and national coordination and standardization, creates problems. Experiences from the traditional adult educational system underlines this: As a direct consequence of decentralization of power to the counties, very different strategies have been chosen, leading to an increasing gap between the counties.

- *The question of institutional or organizational self-governementlautonomy versus central bureaucratic control is* related to the question of national versus local or regional control. The autonomy of institutions is well known in higher education. The freedom of academia is a basic element, looked upon as neccessary for the creative processes underlying the development and use of knowledge. To some extent, the autonomy of institutions is used within the traditional adult education system in Norway. An example is the functioning of the voluntary organizations, who are entertaining a major degree of freedom in matters of profile and teaching-methods, but basing their existence almost exclusively on state grants. This principle of institutional autonomy is confronting a principle of bureaucratic coordination and detail-control by a centralized, public body.

- *Work related adult education may either be treated as an answer to a crisis or as an answer to the long-term knowledge development aiming at organizational, technological or societal renewal.* This is a problem confronting the use of education and training as part of labour market policies. Should education and training be looked upon as short-term problem-solvers for companies or branches characterized by crisis, or is it possible to integrate long-term knowledge goals into this sector. Flexibility is a central factor: We often see that long term goals are given a low priority in the name of flexibility, the need of rapid changes in strategy and production given high priority.

- *Should work-related adult education and training be company bound and specialized, or should general, company-independent knowledge be stimulated?*

The dilemma concerning the choice between specialized, company-bound and general, transferable knowledge, is connected to all the questions presented above. Decentralization and institutional autonomy may lead to fragmented, short-sighted and specialized policies of knowledge. But centralization and governing in detail may lead to lack of functionality and quality due to low versatility and few altematives.

5.2 Principles of governing

Not all of these dilemmas are possible to solve. On the contrary, most of them require a political, value-based choice. From a research point of view, the important challenge is to make these choices as clear and visible as possible. In order to do this, we have to identify the criterias being used, explicitly and implicitly, in the governing of work-related adult education. The criterias discussed below are not exclusive to one another, and may be supplemented by one another.

- *The logic of resources:* An increasing weight is put on the use of resources in public as well as in private sector. The use of quantitatively-based indicators is dominating and relevant governing criterias are such things as the number of participants, the number of hours or days of education, the number of candidates taking exams and the total use of resources. Examples of these are easy to find: The recent changes in the Bill on Adult Education almost exclusively point to quantitative governing principles. One of the new elements which is introduced to the adult educational system, the adult-educational associations (Studieforbund), will receive authorization from the Ministry when able to document an activity amounting to more than 20.000 hours pro anno. The same tendencies can be traced within labour-market training, where the number of participants is decisive.

- *The logic of functionality:* To establish a good and functional relation between supply and demand must be a central guidance principle for those responsible for the governing of work-related adult education. Knowledge demands are in a state of continuing change and the knowledge providers must, in close connection to the demand side, be able to meet these changes in a proper way. It is important to be aware of the obvious fact that the relation between supply and demand of knowledge will differ from company to company, from branch to branch according to type of production and the character of the activity (Ekstedt,E., 1988). The complexity of the problems confronting the company or branch is very important to evaluate when creating a strategy of knowledge.

- *The logic of quality* (Richter,I.,1991): The traditional educational system, basic, secondary and higher education, have to meet national standards of quality: These quality standards cover several aspects, i.e. the professional standards of the teachers, and the the quality of what is taught (which knowledge at which stage, the minimum amount of knowledge going to be presented during one school-year). To control these standards, a complex educational bureaucracy has been established. The situation is different within the work-related adult educational system. There has not been established any strong bureaucracy controlling the system of adult education. Instead, a certain confidence to the market is expressed. As we already have mentioned, many seem to be of the opinion that quality control can take place through competition and the need of knowledge-providers to adjust to demands and standard set by the users, the demand side. Governing of work-related adult education have to confront the question of quality control. Are bureaucratic control and market competition the only means available. Can we establish a system combining these two extremes. A system which secures both the need for autonomy, i.e. the quality of functionality, and the need for national quality standards.

- *The logic of equality and justice:* What we can call the principle of justice, is an important aspect of the norwegian educational system. Everybodys democratic right to education, independent of income, social status or place of living, has been used as a governing principle for decades. This principle is also integrated as a central goal in the Bill on Adult Education from 1976. The problem is to secure just access and equal distribution within a system characterized by fragmentation and specialization.

5.3. A combination of perspectives

Logic Dilemma	Logic of resources	Logic of functionality	Logic of Quality	Logic of justice
Centralized vs. decentr. governing	A1	A2	A3	A4
Autonomy of institutions	B1	B2	B3	B4
Long-term development vs. crisis management	C1	C2	C3	C4
Specialization vs. general knowledge	D1	D2	D3	D4

Figure 1. The dilemmas and logics of governing work-related adult educations.

The next natural step to take is to try to combine the understanding of the dilemmas of work-related adult education with the different logics of government. It is possible to visualize such a strategy in the following way:

It is not possible, due to the available space, to elaborate all the possible combinations outlined above. But in order to show the potential of this perspective, we will use the dilemma of centralization/decentralization (level of governing) as a "testcase". We will try to show that the choice of governing-principle (logic) will give very different outcomes.

Starting with *the logic of resources,* the present Norwegian work-related adult educational system may be looked upon as too decentralized and fragmented. The danger of ineffective use of resources is imminent. This is mainly due to the high number of providers and the strong sector-logic characterizing the system. The mixing of private and public financing is also a factor having to be considered in this context. The "A1" in the figure above may thus be filled in with the label "Too weak central-governing body".

When talking about *the logic of functionality,* the relation to the question of centralization/decentralization is somewhat different. The functionality between supply and demand is commonly accepted as being dependent on the close communication and coordination between knowledge providers and knowledge users. Standardized knowledge often fail to meet the specific demands of the user in question. The "A2" in the figure above may thus be filled in with the label "Need of strong independent governing bodies and/or the decentralization of decisions to userproducer level".

The logic of quality lead us into a more complex situation. Some of the same arguments used in connection to the logic of functionality may be used here. The close relation between user and producer is important also for the quality of the knowledge provided. Quality can, on the other hand, be looked upon as a question of national, standardized quality exceeding the specific needs of one or a few users. This makes it impossible to fill the "A3" with one conclusion, instead it is neccessary to point to the need of a combination of answers. Quality is dependent on the combination between a strong user-producer relation *and* the implementation of national or general quality-standards.

The wish to secure everybodys access to work-related adult educations is one of the important questions implicitly posed through *the logic of justice*. Some sort of central governing principles seem to be needed in order to secure this principle. Later years experiences inside traditional adult educations have been alarming. The decentralization of power has created rather serious differences between the counties. Decentralization does not offer any automatic guarantee for the maintenance of national standards. The "A4" may thus be filled in with "Too weak central-governing body".

By using the different "logics of governing", we will, in a systematic way, be able to elaborate the complex question of goveming knowledge. This does not mean that we will be able to identify "the one and only" solution to the dilemmas presented. On the contrary, the result of such an analytic strategy will more likely be a better understanding of the dilemmas in question, the choice given those those responsible, the politicians. Today, the complex and fragmented situation within the field of workrelated adult education, make such decisions very difficult or impossible.

It is possible to pose the question as a question conceming the limits of centralized goveming vs. the limits of local goveming. What have to be the responsibility of a central, public body, what have to be the responsibility of autonomous institutions or organizations, what have to be formulated at the state niveau and what have to be delegated to the local niveau (Eriksen, E.O., 1991)?

6. Concluding remarks

The perspectives presented in this article must be looked upon as starting points for a research process focusing and concentrating on *the structures of work-related adult education and training*. The perspective thus reflect some of the critical comments presented to the norwegian tradition of research within the ~leld of adult education. Several critics argue that the study of macro-relations, systems-characteristics and relations between producers of adult educations, have been given too little attention (Gooderham,P.N., 1991).

The focus on knowledge as a tool for governing is the second central element in this research process. Our introduction to the Norwegian situation illustrates clearly that the political and strategic importance of knowledge is increasing. This is why we want to start our theoretically end empirically based research by posing the question: What are the limits to the goveming by knowledge?"[2]

Notes

[1] These numbers must be looked upon as illustrations of the relative size of the different sectors. This due to the fact that the information is taken from the national budget for 1991 (Stortingsproposisjon nr.l (1990-91): Ministries of/for Education,

Local administration, Work, Industry, Fisheries and Agriculture), and changes may have taken'place during the year.

[2] This work is concentrated in three projects, presented in the following papers:

a) Bjømåvold~ Jens: *"Organisering og tilrettelegging for etter- og videreutdanning i 4 bransjer."* FORUTSamfunnsforskning, Troms0 1991.
b) Bjømåvold,J. og Hernes, H.K.: "~ *styre kompetanse: Etter- og videreutdanningsfeltet som styringsredskap og styringsobjekt."* FORUT-Samfunnsforskning, Troms0 1991.
c) Bjømavold~ J., Boyesen,M. og Lotherington, A.T.: *"Evaluering av forsøksprosjektet RESULT: Samarbeid videregdende skole-næringsliv."* FORUT-Samfimnsforskning og Rogalandsforskning, Troms0 og Stavanger 1990.

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What Role Do Age and Context Play in Self-Regulated Learning?

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Abstract:

Self-directed learning has received considerable attention in the field of adult education in the past 20 years. The variety of ways in which the concept has been defined and used, however, has muddled its value as a coherent or robust construct. Self-directed learning is compared with the concept of self-regulated learning, a relatively well-defined concept that has emerged from research in the field of psychology. A proposal is made to adopt self-regulated learning as a more unified concept that can be used to further research on how adults influence and otherwise regulate their own learning. A research project is then described where the differential effects of age and context are being studied in order to determine if there are any meaningful differences between adults and younger peers. This is done by comparing regular high school students, adult high school students and folk high school students in terms of how they generally regard themselves as learners in a particular class, how they perceive a particular learning event in that class, and how their perceptions then influence the manner in which they go about regulating their learning.

The Problematics of Self-Directed Learning

In 1975, Malcolm Knowles warned that in our rapidly changing society it was no longer sufficient for education to primarily focus on the transmission of what is known. To be able to cope with obsolescence and growth, adults need to learn how to take responsibility for their own learning and to adapt to new knowledge and skills. To successfully manage this, Knowles felt that people must engage in a process which he termed *self-directed learning* -- a process that involves first taking initiative for one's learning, then identifying what it is that one needs to learn, setting learning goals, determining what is needed to accomplish those goals, selecting and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and monitoring the final learning outcome (Knowles, 1975). Knowles described this as a relatively natural process for adults since he viewed self-directedness as an aspect of maturity that becomes increasingly refined over time. As appealing and thoughtful as Knowles' concept seemed, it sprang from Knowles' philosophical perspective rather than from psychological study. Knowles provided no evidence for what works and why.

Not surprisingly, then, Knowles' description of adults' self-directed nature sparked tremendous debate. In the process, self-directedness has been defined in sociological terms, pedagogical terms and psychological terms (Loeng, 1991). More specifically, selfdirectedness has been described as a goal-directed, age-based phenomenon (Knowles, 1975), an aspect of personality (Oddi, 1987[1]), and a stage-based phenomenon (Cross, 1986; Grow, 1991). Others have proposed that self-directedness hinges on personal power and one's sense of separateness (Brookfield, 1985; Knowles, 1970), and still others that it hinges on people's commitments to learning, drives and the degree of cognitive openness (Oddi, 1986).

Among the most skeptical of critics, Elias (1979) and Tennant (1986) have expressed serious reservations about adults even at all being inherently different from children in the way they learn. Still, less skeptical critics have attempted to actually measure the nature of self-directedness in order to lay a sound foundation for such critiques. Unfortunately, these attempts have not been remarkably successful. For example, the Oddi Continuing Learning Inventory (OCLI) has been shown to be both reliable and valid (Oddi, 1986; Six, 1989), yet has demonstrated little explanatory power about adult learning. Similarly, the Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS), developed by Guglielmino (1977), has also been widely used and supported, yet there is a debate ongoing about what this second instrument actually measures (e.g. Bonham, 1991; Field, 1990). Furthermore, there is quite a vocal group who express reservation as to whether such instruments are appropriate to use in the first place in the exploration of what self-directedness is -- thereby questioning the whole effort to build a foundation for the concept's existence (Bonham, 1991; Brockett, 1985; Brookfield, 1985; Field, 1990).

As a result of the debate and research that has followed it, the search for the psychological reality of self-directedness has been problematic. Simply put, self-directedness has come to mean quite different things to different people. Now, when the critical concept is so lacking in coherence, efforts to map adults' tendencies or predispositions to direct their own learning have become exceedingly difficult.

Fortuntately, concurrent with the work being done in adult education, work was being done in the field of psychology on *self-regulation*. Whereas self-directedness began as a whole in search of its parts, self-regulation emerged as parts that converged on a whole. Research had been pursued on the nature of people's learning motivation, skill repertoires and perceptions of learning events for years. As relationships between all these factors became clearer, a more refined understanding of self-regulation emerged. This development of self-regulation, then, led to an understanding of how people manage their learning in a way that might shed some light on the nature of what Knowles originally introduced as selfdirectedness.

As for the two concepts' similarities, both the field of adult education and the field of psychology maintain that how people manage their own learning seems to be influenced by learners' personal characteristics, the environment they operate in, as well as peoples' motivation to participate in that environment. Therefore, given the common roots that selfdirectedness seems to share with self-regulation and the extensive work that has been done that validates the concept of self-regulation, it seems that the degree to which self-regulation may serve as a more precise concept to describe what Knowles originally intended with selfdirectedness is worthy of attention. Because of the relative newness of this concept and its novelty to the adult education literature, a detailed description of some of the critical elements of self-regulation follow.

Social-Cognitive Model of Self-Regulation

Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1988) have described people who regulate their own learning in the following way:

> In terms of metacognitive processes, self-regulated learners plan, organize, self-instruct, and self-evaluate at various stages during the acquisition process. From a motivational vantage, self-regulated learners perceive themselves as self-efficacious, autonomous, and intrinsically motivated. In terms of behaviour, self-regulated learners select, structure, and even create social and physical environments that optimize acquisition...Effective learners become aware of functional relations between their patterns of thought and action (often termed *strategies)* and social and environmental outcomes. (p. 284)

Zimmerman has since developed a social-cognitive model of self-regulated learning in which he tries to clarify the unique roles each of these variables play both singly and in relationship with the others (Zimmerman, 1989). In this model, Zimmerman has described self-regulated learners as agents who initiate and direct their own learning in order to acquire the information and/or skills they need. They do this by using what they know and believe about themselves and their ability to act in a particular learning environment in order to strategically move towards the accomplishment of academic goals. This is highly reminiscent of what Knowles proposed (1975), only the premises come from a large body of research looking at the nature of each of these parts and how they interrelate. Consider briefly what has been found in research on some of the key concepts in Zimmerman's model: selfefficacy, goals and strategic self-regulation.

Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy, people's belief that they are competent enough to control a particular learning situation, has been demonstrated to have powerful effects on engagement in learning (Bandura, 1982; Schunk, 1989). Studies looking at achievement motivation from multiple perspectives (social learning theory, attribution theory and intrinsic motivation theory) have all found that people who perceive that they are capable of controlling some aspect of their learning tend to engage more actively in the learning process (Skinner, Wellborn & Connell, 1990; Stipek & Weisz, 1981; Weiner, 1985). Such self-efficacious learners have been distinguished from lower achieving peers by being more motivated and, among other things, less affected by variations in the quality of instruction (Perry & Magnusson, 1989), and more strategic in their use of learning tactics (Zimmerman & Martinez-Pons, 1990).

Goals

An important part of people's self-efficacy judgements stems from how they perceive the actual learning situation itself (Covington & Omelich, 1984). Having formulated a sense of the social reality around the learning situation, people are then able to formulate goal orientations (Ames & Archer, 1988). It has been found that the nature of the learning situation influences the kinds of goals that students formulate and that these goals subsequently influence the general framework for learning (Elliot & Dweck, 1988). Likewise, people's level of self-efficacy has also been shown to have significant power in predicting students' reported use of learning strategies, the kinds of learning tasks they preferred and their attitudes about learning (Ames & Archer, 1988). However, perceptions of competence seem to matter much less to people with mastery goal orientations (an orientation focused on progressing or improving one's abilities) than to people with performance goal orientations (an orientation focused on gaining high grades and postive feedback on performance). Furthermore, students with mastery goal orientations have been found much more likely to have positive attitudes about learning and report using more learning strategies than their counterparts with performance goals, regardless of the students' academic standing. Looked at all together, this research indicates that whereas students' selection of goals may be influenced by their level of self-efficacy, the goals they pursue and how successfully they achieve them may in turn influence students' future level of selfefficacy for learning (Schunk, 1989).

Making the distinction between performance and mastery goals has allowed researchers to uncover other influences on the way people go about learning as well. For example, research has indicated that people who operate with performance goals tend to focus on *proving* their ability whereas people who operate with mastery goals tend to focus on *improving* their ability (Ames & Archer, 1988; Dweck & Leggett, 1988;

Elliott & Dweck, 1988). Accordingly, these different focuses initiate different kinds of behaviors --setting in motion "cognitive and affective processes that render that individual vulnerable to maladaptive behavior patters" and mastery goals initiating cognitive and affective processes that promote persistance and the seeking of challenges (Dweck and Leggett, 1988, p. 262).

Schunk (1989) has suggested that *when* people expect to achieve a goal may also influence people's behavior. Since it is typically easier to gauge one's progress towards a goal when it is proximal rather than distant, proximal goals should be easier to use in assessing one's goal-directed movement. When people perceive that the movement is positive, then proximal goals should facilitate and enhance people's perception of selfefficacy. Given what is already known about self-efficacy, self-efficacy judgements formulated while approaching learning goals could easily enhance learning behavior.

Strategic Self-Regulation

The last element of interest in Zimmerman's model of self-regulation is the manner in which people go about learning. As already mentioned, students can be more or less strategic when learning and research has pointed to a few variables that seem to influence the use of tactics and strategies. For example, Dahl (1991) found that when students perceive tasks as difficult, they often respond by using more and different types of learning tactics than they do for tasks they perceive as easy. In a study using the Motivated Learning Strategies Questionnaire to assess students' motivational and cognitive strategy use, Pintrich and V. De Groot (1990) found that levels of self-efficacy, value perceptions of what is to be learned and overall motivation to learn all significantly affected reported self-regulation, strategic use of learning tactics, and overall achievement. The reported use of cognitive learning strategies alone was not found to be particularly strong in predicting academic performance. Rather, self-efficacy and reported self-regulation (metacognitive and effort regulation) were the best predictors of academic performance. These self-regulation strategies have been shown to be quite potent in other studies as well. Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1986)[2], for example, found that for 93% of their high school student subjects the authors could accurately predict the students' level of academic achievement based on their reported use of self-regulation strategies.2

Age or Context?

Although little has been done to test age directly as a key factor in Zimmerman's model, Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1990) have looked at levels of self-regulated learning and self-efficacy among regular and gifted 5th, 8th and 11th graders from four different schools. In that study, the authors found that students' levels of self-efficacy and reported use of learning strategies generally increased by grade. This could suggest age as an important factor for self-regulated learning. Yet, since the study compared populations of students who were different both in terms of age and context, context is just as likely an influencial factor as age. Either way, this research opens the door for questions about whether self-regulation is a skill that improves over time, and if so, whether time is an aspect of maturity or an aspect of experience in different learning contexts. If there is, indeed, some sort of progression, then the nature of that progression would be informative to Zimmerman's model and to any educators interested in fostering self-regulated learning.

Self-Direction versus Self-Regulation

Having presented the essential nature of self-regulation and some general views of self-directedness, let us review and clarify the state of the two concepts. Whereas psychologists have come to view self-regulation as a phenomenon associated with specific learning environments, self-efficacy, goals, strategic and self-regulated behaviors, selfdirectedness has not yet become a term with a unified meaning. In psychology, selfregulation has been discussed as an aspect of learning that seems to explain a lot about peoples' academic achievement. Elements of the process seem to get honed over time, although whether the chronological changes are age- or context-dependent have not yet been explored. Likewise, psychologists have not yet investigated nor made any claims about whether people's variations in self-regulatory behaviors vary qualitatively in terms of people's life stages or personalities. In the field of adult education, on the other hand, more effort has been spent looking at self-directedness as both a learning process and as an aspect of age and personality. Some empirical work has been done to identify its nature, but that work has been severely criticized and has not yet succeeded in providing a coherent clarification as to what self-directedness is or should be.

Although self-regulation and self-directedness were developed parallel to each other in their respective fields, the historical development of self-directedness has been tumultuous and has substantially compromised its explanatory power. On the other hand, the concept of self-regulation has been shown to be quite robust in research and there do exist striking similarities between self-regulation and the self-directed process Knowles originally described. Therefore, it seems reasonable and helpful to explore the relationship between *age* and the self-managing of one's learning in terms of self-regulation rather than selfdirectedness. Additionally, since self-regulation is being used as the critical variable to answer this question and since previous research regarding the differential effects of age and context on self-regulation has been inconclusive, it seems interesting and relevant to simultaneously explore to what degree the manner in which people self-regulate their learning is also influenced by learning *context*.

Comparing the Influence of Context and Age On People's Perceptions of a Learning Experience and Subsequent Self-Regulation

A study currently in progress at The Norwegian Institute of Adult Education explores the issues just raised. In an effort to restrict the breadth of the investigation, this study is exploring how different student populations generally regard themselves as learners in a particular class, how they perceive a particular learning event in that class, and how that perception then influences how they self-regulate their learning. This angle was selected in light of how potent self-efficacy research has shown perceptions of the learning process to be both for how students go about learning and for what they eventually learn. Ultimately, this study should give some indications as to the extent age and learning context matter to learning perceptions and behaviors.

Subjects

One way to successfully approach this investigation is to compare how students different in age and in similar learning contexts compare with students similar in age and in different learning contexts. Teenage and adult high school students provide two student groups that facilitate the first comparison since they are different in age yet study in similar learning contexts. Their contexts are similar in that they are greatly governed by the requirements to complete the same nationally determined curricula and to pass the same nationally produced exams. As a result, instruction for these students tends to be similar in structure and performance requirements. Teenage high school students and folk high school students provide two student groups that facilitate the second comparison since they are similar in age yet study in different learning contexts.

For the second comparison, the Nordic countries offer the unique contribution of folk high school students to this study. Folk high school students are typically close in age to teenage high school students and they often pursue subjects similar to those studied by their high school peers. In spite of these similarities, a particular aspect of the folk high school that facilitates the purpose of this study is the folk high school instructional philosophy. Instruction at folk high schools is not motivated by academic performance *per se* since folk high schools do not have regulated curricula, exams or grades *(The Folk High Schools in Norway,* 1991). Instead, folk high school courses are conducted to facilitate personal growth and social responsibility. In that spirit, then, curricula are maleable and frequently modified. Likewise, students are given considerable freedom to determine how they would like to participate in and take responsibility for their course work and learning. Naturally, this creates learning contexts quite different from those typically found in high schools.

Taken all together, the different age-related and learning context-related characteristics of the students just described allow us to begin looking at whether the age of the learners or the learning context they are in matters more to the way they view learning and their progress towards natural learning goals.

In summary, the subjects participating in this study are all attending social studies courses, and they are either:

a. *similar in age* (late teens and early twenties) and *attending different types of schools* (high school or folk high school),
or
b. *different in age* (from late teens to late adulthood), *attending similar types of schools* (high school).

Materials and Procedure

Since the manner in which a person chooses to learn new material is an important part of self-regulation, the study begins by examining how students generally view themselves as learners in a particular class, and then how they view a particular learning situation during one period in that class. Those views are then being tested by looking at how people's views of their competence to meet their self-chosen goals and teacher-driven goals influence their eventual movement towards those goals. This is being done by asking the students one week after the initial period of instruction to estimate their progress both in terms of their self-set goal and in terms of their perception of the teacher-set goal.

To assess students' general view of themselves as social studies students, all subjects complete a portion of an instrument called the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ) developed by Pintrich, Smith, Garcia and McKeachie at the National Center for Research to Improve Postsecondary Teaching and Learning (1991). This instrument has been used in research in The United States (e.g. Pintrich & Van De Groot, compared with those of the students. To get a sense of the teachers' perceptions, the teachers are also asked after that first instructional period to elaborate on what goals they had during instruction. To capture their instructional goals, the teachers are asked to complete the phrase "[During this last hour of instruction] I want/wanted..." followed by "so that..." The teachers are free to respond either in terms of individuals, groups of individuals, and/or in terms of the class as a whole. How well the nature of the teachers' goals match how their students perceived the teachers' goals are then being examined.

One week later, the students and teachers are asked to reflect on their experiences from the class one week earlier. The students are reminded of their goals from the previous week and asked to assess how far along they feel they have come in achieving those goals as well as what kinds of things they base their judgement on. Likewise, the teachers are reminded of their goals that they had for each student and asked to comment on how far along their students have come in achieving them as well as what they base their evaluations on.

The data are being analyzed in terms of what role students' general view of their learning seems to play into the way they respond to a particular learning event and how this view and its effects vary by age and by context/school. The data are also being looked at in terms of how the students' immediate perceptions of the learning situation match the teachers' perceptions of the same. All together, these findings should shed some light on students' learning perceptions and the interaction between those and students' self-regulating tendencies. Upon comparing the different student groups, unique qualities that adults may have as self-regulated learners can be explored.

Closing Remarks

Knowles has been criticized for how freely he has made claims about adult learners and how much he has left readers wondering about the exact nature of his claims. Nevertheless, his description of *self-directed* learning does not wildly differ from that of the empirically-motivated description of *self-regulated* learning. Since the field of adult education has shown considerable interest in the general nature of self-directedness and its role in adult learning, and since folk high schools provide a contextual basis upon which to explore this question, Norway provides fertile ground for this study. By comparing adult learners with others, this research should provide an empirical base upon which adults as self-regulated learners can systematically be studied. True to Knowles' original provocation, the challenge for us in this field is to test what is known with new knowledge and strive for growth.

Notes

[1] It is worth mentioning that the behaviors or tendencies that Oddi bases this claim on are strikingly reminiscent of goal-directed behaviors which are frequently classified by psychologists as maleable cognitive/motivational variables rather than fixed-trait variables.

[2] It should be noted that the set of strategies that Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons looked at included some strategies that Pintrich and Van De Groot (1990) would have

classified as cognitive learning strategies and others that they would have classified as self-regulation strategies.

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Survey of Participation in the Municipal and County Municipal Adult Education in Norway during the School Year 1990 - 1991

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Abstract

This study has been commissioned by the Department of Education. The article begins by explaining how the Adult Education Act regulates adult education/training in Norway within the public sector. The educational perspective of *lifelong learning is* then discussed in relation to the current operative definition of adult education. The object of the survey is to procure country-wide up-to-date and reliable statistics, which can show participation in public adult education. The results show large differences in the extent of municipal and county municipal adult education both as regards exam-oriented and non-exam oriented courses. Municipally arranged education, which is the responsibility of the Norwegian primary school (first nine years of schooling), dominated in non-examination courses. The county municipal adult education, which is the responsibility of the secondary school ('A' level classes or high school), dominated the tuition leading to exams, but also had the highest dropout rate. Women had the highest dropout rate in both primary school and higher education. The conclusion is that there is insufficient knowledge at present about the phenomena we can observe by such investigations, particularly concerning dropout. Increased knowledge about the reasons for dropout would be valuable for the development and adjustment of existing and future courses made available in adult education. This would also contribute to the realization of the intentions behind lifelong learning.

Introduction

Lifelong learning as a perspective for education policy made its first appearance at the beginning of the 1960s. In Norway, as in most other countries, the term lifelong learning has primarily been linked to education for adults. Lifelong learning has therefore been widely referred to in policy documents on the subject of adult education. Yet, until the end of the 1980s, it has seldom been discussed as a topic in its own right. In Norway, the Adult Education Act was passed in 1976. Until then, Parliamentary Report No. 92 on Adult Education had been the guiding Norwegian policy document as regards education for adults (NOU 1986:23).

Great societal changes have taken place since the Adult Education Act was passed. Increased specialization and introduction of new technology at work and in society generally have increased the need for training. Today greater emphasis is put on the ability to readjust, both individually and nationally. A solid basic education as well as a willingness to take higher education and further training courses have therefore been necessary. Increased demands for formal competence and updating of specialized knowledge and skills have resulted in lifelong learning again being put on the agenda. This is reflected in a number of official statements as well as parliamentary reports. In 'With Knowledge and Will'(NOU 1988:28), the Hernes Committee concluded that education shall no longer be *a phase of life*, but *a way of life*. (Parliamentary Report No. 43). In this perspective it should in the future be just as natural for the adult population to take part in organized training as to participate n organized work.

Another aspect which underlines the importance of making lifelong learning a reality is the development of the age structure in the work market. In the course of the next 20 years there will be roughly 200,000 fewer employees in the age group of 16 - 34 years and 400,000 more in the age group of 36 - 66 years. In recruitment, employers often prefer to take on younger people because they have up-to-date qualifications. Redeployment or updating of competence will therefore be important measures to strengthen the competitive ability of middle-aged and older persons in the work market. Our competitiveness in the international market will to a large degree depend on our success in exploiting effectively the resources available from our aging workforce (Larsen, 1991).

In NOU 1991:4, 'The Path Onwards to Competence in Studies and at Work', the increasing need for training among the adult population is discussed. As examples, more extensive training, extra education and completing existing education are emphasized. It can therefore seem that further development of formal adult education providing qualifications (running parallel to the ordinary school system) will have a great effect on the realization of lifelong learning. However, it is important to ensure that the content is well suited to adults and that dropout of participants can be reduced to a minimum. The latter is important both from an individual and societal point of view. Fewer adults will experience defeat through not completing training they have begun. A higher percentage of completion will furthermore provide a better return on the government's investment in these training arrangements. An increased flow throughout the educational system will probably result in the population achieving at a faster rate the desired development in expertise .

The Adult Education Act may be regarded as egalitarian. The Act covers a number of different types of education/training either leading to formal qualifications or not. The intention of the Act is to ensure that adults can have access to the training and expertise which in earlier phases of their life were not available, or for other reasons not acquired. It does not, however, give entitlement to tuition leading to exams, but gives underprivileged groups the right to receive non-exam oriented tuition. The main aim of the Act, to help the individual to a more meaningful life, can be split up into several sub-aims. In the governmental committees where the Act has been discussed, the following sub-aims have been given the most attention: personal growth and development for the individual, the need for lifelong learning, strengthening the individual's efforts at work and in society, increased democratization and promotion of women's equal status (Bruun Wyller, 1988).

Today's Adult Education Act describes the apportionment of responsibility, as well as a number of training/educational courses designed for adults and the way these courses are organized. However not all types of education (including training) for adults fall within this official definition of adult education. This results in some types of adult education which conform in principle to the intentions of the Act as being excluded from surveys of the adult education field.

In the following we shall present a short overview of the courses in public adult education under the auspices of Norwegian schools. The costs of these special courses are met by the state so that participants do not pay school fees or other charges for attendance.We shall also take a short look at certified training which falls outside the concept of adult education in order to assess what consequences this has for our understanding about other types of adult educational development.

Primary and Secondary School for adults

The public school system, in accordance with the Adult Education Act, is responsible for arranging regular basic education for adults at the primary and secondary school level, as well as special education in these schools' subject areas. However, such education gives no entitlement to exam-orientated training for adults. The municipality is given the responsibility for developing and arranging such courses. Special education is provided for groups with special needs and is not geared towards exams. It is mainly given to adults who are mentally handicapped. Other groups who by law are entitled to such special teaching or training are the physically handicapped and persons with uncompleted primary school.

Training for the labour market

Labour Market Training (LMT) is also regulated by the Adult Education Act, but is the joint responsibility of the Department of Employment and the Department of Education. Labour Market Training is a part of employment policy and the aim is to give labour-orientated training to meet the needs of the labour market. Training is intended for persons who need it to obtain a suitable and steady job. Such training is work-orientated and intended for persons who either are without work or who are in an insecure employment situation. Training is offered according to curricula set for both primary and secondary schools through the Labour Market Training system.

Private candidates

This arrangement is based on the regulations of 3 August 1987 issued by the Department of Education. According to the regulations, persons who have not had student status in a particular subject, that is to say have not attended class for a minimum number of hours, have the opportunity to take the exam in this subject. In other words, private candidates are made up of a varied group of adults wishing to take an exam. The group can consist of participants in adult education arranged by the public authorities, students at private schools, adults studying by correspondence or through the 'Open University', study circles, and finally those who have had no form of organized tuition.

Further education in voluntary educational associations

When the Adult Education Act came into force, the role of voluntary educational associations in teaching at primary and secondary school level was regulated through paragraph 8 of the act, which deals with 'alternative curricula'. If there is an educational need which has not been met, this paragraph allows approved organizations to organize courses which would otherwise be reserved for a public educational institutions. Voluntary educational associations do, however, operate to a certain extent as providers of higher education (A-levels, UK, high school, US), independently of paragraph 8. This activity takes place in the form of tuition which is financed through the fees charged to participants.

Education in which adults take part

In today's situation it is the characteristics of the educational bodies and the organizational structures rather than the characteristics of the target group itself which determine whether a course offered is defined as adult education (NOU:1991:4). This can be unfortunate since several training opportunities which provide certification, and in which adults participate, are excluded from the definition of adult education. Some of these course offerings are provided for in other laws governing education, such as the Secondary Education Act and the Private School Act.

A number of students in the secondary school are adults, that is to say they are older than the group for which this education is primarily intended. Such adult students are, however, considered as ordinary students, since they are enrolled through the common entrance procedure. For the school year 1990 - 1991, ca. 25% of the pupils in secondary school were over 20 years of age, the majority between 20 - 24 years old (Kallerud, 1991). We can also find a number of adult students in the private secondary schools or A-classes. These students have a number of features in common with the participants in the publicly maintained adult education; they wish to improve on their marks (scale 1-6, awarded on the basis of their school work and end exam) in secondary school, or change their field of subjects, or procure general competence.

Private course organizers also offer courses within the domain of the state school system, such as certified diploma courses at the level of primary and secondary school. In addition cooperation traditionaly takes place between private course organizers and voluntary educational associations. The private course organizers supplement tuition by correspondence with classroom courses. Evening classes are arranged at various schools of higher education, since a large number of students at these institutions are adults seeking further training or education. Adults who take part in such courses do not figure in the statistics on participation in adult education.

Background and Procedure

Need for a survey

To get a real picture of adult participation in organized training or educational courses giving qualifications, it is necessary to carry out continuous, thorough and reliable surveys. However, at present the statistics relating to public arranged adult education do not have the desired reliability. The reasons for this are mainly that existing statistics are imperfect. This again due to the cessation of fixed routines for reporting to the Department of Education, and the National Bureau of Statistics no longer publishes adult education statistics as it did formerly. Other forms of certified training in which adults participate have not been the object of continual surveying, or have been put into other statistics.

It is, nevertheless, of great importance for social considerations and educational policy to have adult participation in organized educational or training activities under continuous survey. Reliable statistics would provide the Department of Education and Storting (Parliament) with an improved basis for making decisions about issues relevant to adult education. The same material would likewise provide a valuable source for scientific analyses.

Our mandate from the Department of Education was to carry out a national survey of participation in adult education arranged by the public authorities. The objective of the investigation was twofold: firstly, to cover the need of the Department for up-to-date and reliable statistics; secondly, to develop a new and more suitable reporting form both for use in this investigation and for the improvement of future registration routines.

Design and methodology

The population of the study

Municipal school offices throughout the country (447) and county school boards (19) were requested to give details about participation in adult education for the school year 1990 1991. We decided to first approach the chief education officers in the municipalities and counties. These received our letter of introduction, instructions, a form for filling out financial particulars and a form for reporting participation in their adult education programs.

In the introductory letter the chief education officers were requested to give information about expenditures and income connected with adult education. To map special conditions connected to the tuition (which in some cases are only known at the place where the teaching is held), we requested that the form to be used for reporting participation in adult education should be sent to the teaching institutions which had been responsible for the instruction.

Forms

The forms were designed to be as self-explanatory as possible to try to avoid unclear formulations of the type which spoiled the forms used in earlier surveys. Two sets of forms were prepared, one for the adults enrolled in municipal (primary school) and one for adults enrolled in county municipal (secondary school) adult education. Both sets comprised two forms, one for providing information on financial particulars and the other for information on participation in education either leading to exams or not.

For participation in adult education leading to exams, we used the following categories: *PE1 and SE1 (P=primary school, S=secondary school, E=exam)*, adults who have attended exam-oriented tuition at a school or socio-medical institution; *PE2 and SE2*, adults who have attended under the 'alternative curricula' arrangement or who have not attended organized exam-oriented tuition at an educational institution; *P-LMT and S-LMT*, adults who have attended the Labour Market Training which follows the curricula and evaluation schemes of the schools in question.

For participation in adult education not leading to exams, we used the following categories: *PNE-1 (P=primary school,NE=non-exam)*, attending education in the subject area of primary school; *PNE-2*, attending education in the subject area of primary school, age group 16 - 20 years (officially the county municipal responsibility, but in practice this training has been handed over to the municipalities). For adult education not leading to exams under county municipal management, we used the following categories: *SNE-1 (S=secondary school,NE=non-exam)*, attending specially organized courses in the subject area of secondary school, *SNE-2*, attending special education in the subject area of primary school, age group 16 - 20 years.

Information from the school administrations

School offices and boards were requested to provide particulars on both expenses and sources of income in connection with adult education leading to exam or not, separately. *Expenditures* were defiined as: teachers' salaries, administration costs and expenses involved in providing materials. *Earnings* were defined as: fees earned through teaching assignments or other forms of charges presented to the participants. The municipal school boards were also requested to disclose their earnings from receipt of payment for guest pupils residing in other municipalities.

Information from teaching institutions

A person who attends several courses or in several different subjects is registered as more than one participant at the teaching institutions. We therefore chose to distinguish between *physical persons* and *participants*. For education leading to exams we therefore requested information on the total number of physical persons who had completed the course, whereas for education not leading to exams we asked for the total number of physical persons who had participated. The teaching institutions which had arranged the Norwegian primary school courses were, in addition, asked to distinguish between persons belonging to the municipality and persons coming from elsewhere, (guest students). Since education not leading to exams is often difficult to categorize into subjects, this was not surveyed further.

Further details requested were the number of participants in each subject, plus the number of hours per week allotted to it. For secondary education we wished to know what branch of studies the subject came under. Within the participant categories attending exam-oriented tuition we asked for the number of enrollments and those admitted, as well as the number completing the course, all divided into male and female.

Response rate and dropout
In total, 378 out of 447 municipal school offices (84.6%) returned information about their financial commitments to adult education for the school year 1990 - 1991. Of these, 125 reported that they had not arranged education during the school year. We received information on participation in adult education from teaching institutions in altogether 334 municipalities; of these, adult education had been arranged in 322. Two county municipal school boards, Oslo and Trondheim, did not wish to take part in the investigation, so we have neither financial or participation data for these two counties. 11 out of 19 county municipal boards (57.8%) sent back information on their financial commitment to adult education during the school year. We received details about the level of teaching activity from schools of higher secondary education and other teaching institutions in 17 counties.

The response percentage from the teaching institutions is, however, difficult to estimate since we have limited information about which teaching institutions received the forms from the school offices and school boards.

Sources of error
The filling in of the forms varied in quality and we registered a number of mistakes. This applied especially to the details about number of applicants and applicants accepted for the different subjects, as well as the weekly timetable for the individual subjects. One reason for this was misunderstanding about some items on the forms. Other reasons were that the information we wanted was not available or involved a lot of extra work to obtain the data. Routines for registration and storing of this type of information proved, in other words, to be extremely varied and somewhat poor.

Many of the respondents pointed out that because the budget year and school year did not correspond, the financial figures given were based on the accounts for 1990 and estimates or budget figures for 1991. By means of the reform concerning responsibility for the health and welfare of the mentally handicapped (called HVPU Reform in Norway), implemented in January 1991, the financial responsibility for specially arranged tuition has been transferred to the state. Thus the items on the form relating to the expenditure and income of the school offices and school boards were difficult to use in the cases where the HVPU Reform had been implemented.

Results

In the following we will present a selection of the main results from the survey of publicly arranged adult education for the school year 1990 - 1991.

Municipal arranged, primary school adult education

Expenditure and Income

For municipal adult education the total expenditure was NOK 400,974,472. Expenditure on tuition not leading to exams was NOK 345,873,430 (86%), whereas expenditure on examoriented tuition was NOK 55,101,0424 (14%). The total income was NOK 192,575,848. Income from tuition not leading to exams was NOK 174,006,400 (91%), whereas income from exam-oriented tuition was NOK 18,569,448 (9%).

Participation in and completion of education leading to exams

By merging together the three participating categories, PEl, PE2 and P-LMT we found that in total 4326 actual physical persons had completed municipal adult education leading to exams. Of these, 1726 were men (40%) and 2600 were women (60%). In the category PEl, the total figures reported as accepted for enrolment were 2246 participants, of which 972 were men (43%) and 1276 were women (57%). Altogether 1791 of these completed their course, of which 803 were men (45%) and 988 were women (55%). In total 79.6% of all PEl completed their course, 82.6% of the male participants and 77% of the women. (Note: PEl is the participant category which we have the most reliable information about. We therefore decided to calculate the degree of completion for this category both for municipal and county municipal adult education.)

Participation in tuition not leading to exams

By merging together the number of actual physical persons in categories PNEl and PNE2, we found that altogether 6758 physical persons had participated in municipal education not leading to exams. Of these 3715 were men (55%) and 3043 were women (45%). Just for comparison, tuition not leading to exams made up 61% of the total municipal activity, whereas exam-oriented tuition comprised 39% of the total activity.

County municipal arranged, secondary school adult education

Expenditure and income

In county municipal adult education, the total expenditure was NOK 86,168,937, of which expenditure on tuition not leading to exams was NOK 39,382,025 (46%), whereas expenditure on exam-oriented tuition was NOK 46,786,912 (54%). The total income was NOK 3,006,582, of which income for tuition not leading to exams was NOK 277,900 (8%), and for exam-oriented tuition NOK 2,728,682 (92%).

Participation in and completion of education leading to exams

By merging together the three categories SE1, SE2 and S-LMT, we found that altogether 14,747 physical persons completed exam-oriented education. Of these, 5,217 were men (35%) and 9,530 were women (65%). In the category SE1, it was reported that altogether 16,829 were enrolled. Of these there were 5,165 men and and 11,664 women. In other words, men comprised 30.7% and women 69.3% of enrollments. Altogether 11,758 participants completed their course, and out of these 3,734 were men (32%) and 8,024 (68%) were women. In total 69.9% of all SE1 participants who were enrolled completed their course. Of these, 72.3% of the men and 68.8% of the women completed their education.

Participation in education not leading to exams

By merging together the physical persons in the categores SNE1 and SNE2 we found that altogether 828 physical persons had taken part in county-municipal education. Of these, 266 were men (32%) and 562 were women (68%). Just for comparison, tuition not leading to exams comprised only 5% of the total county municipal activity whereas exam-oriented tuition comprised 95 % of the activity.

Summing up and discussion

Adults completing primary school constituted 23% and adults completing secondary school 77 % of the total number of participants in exam-oriented education. Municipal adult education was dominated by non-exam oriented education (61%), county municipal adult education was dominated by exam-oriented education (95%). The relatively low number of persons who have completed adult education at primary school level can be an indication that the need for tuition at this level has been reduced during the last approx. 20 years with the ordinary primary 9-year school and adult education courses. The considerably higher number of adults completing secondary education as adults can be regarded as a reflection of the relatively greater need to raise the competence of the adult population at this level.

Women predominated as participants in both primary (57%) and secondary education (69%), It can therefore seem as if lack of education at the level of secondary school is most marked among female adults.
In education not leading to exams, tuition in the area belonging to the primary school dominated; tuition in the area belonging to the secondary school made up only 11% of the total activity. In exam-oriented tuition, secondary education courses dominated, whereas courses at the primary school level comprised ca. 23% of the total exam-oriented activity.

The differences between the expenditures on adult education reflected the participation in exam- and non-exam-oriented education, both municipal and county municipal. The difference between municipalities and county municipalities was considerable with regard to income generated from courses not leading to exams. The county municipal income comprised ca. 2% of the municipal income. This situation can be ascribed to the interauthority cooperation on adult education not leading to exams, and the fact that this tuition often takes place at central institutions. This means that the mentally handicapped (HVPU) clients residing in one municipality who take part in tuition offered by another municipality raise the number of guest pupils to be paid for.

Taking as our point of departure the figures for completion, we calculated the dropout rate in terms of percentages for the courses leading to exams under both municipal and county municipal responsibility. As regards primary school tuition, the dropout rate was ca. 20%, in secondary education about 30%; in both types of adult education women had the largest dropout rate. At primary school level, ca. 23% of the women dropped out, as compared to 17% of the men. At secondary level, women had a 31% dropout rate, and men 27%. Women constitute, in other words, the majority of both participants who begin and discontinue examoriented education within both kinds of school.

In this investigation we have not collected data which can assist in uncovering the reasons for either dropout or the factors of significance which prevented those completing their education from dropping out. Dropout is a classic problem in adult education and there exist a number of theories on the causes of dropout. In earlier studies on drop out, circumstances regarding the life situation of the participants have been emphasized. Gooderham (1987) observed that 'lack of time' was the most frequent reason given by dropouts. The gender differences in dropout can, based on this, be explained by the reasonable assumption that women to a higher degree than men give lower priority to attendance at courses when this has to compete with responsibilities for the home and family or other duties.

Conclusion

Our results give essential quantitative information about publicly arranged adult education. Using the information just presented as a basis, it is reasonable to assert that there is a strong need for adult courses within the field of secondary education. However, we do not have the answers to important questions, such as why there is dropout, and why *women* had the highest dropout rate. Other important questions we should consider relate to the quality of the tuition, teaching methods and the benefit which the participants gain from the education.
To reach the goal of acquiring reliable knowledge about the field of adult education through the use of surveys, a broad discussion about the concept of adult education is necessary. In such a discussion one should focus on the Adult Education Act, both with regard to content, use of definitions and its suitability as a steering mechanism in a society which has undergone considerable changes since the act was passed. A revision of the concept of adult education putting emphasis on the target group and not the characteristics of the course arrangers would be more appropriate in today's situation. We would then get a more correct picture of the adult population's participation in all types of education and training; this is of special importance when we consider the intentions behind the slogan lifelong learning. Such clarification is a premise for continuing efforts to achieve reliable knowledge about the whole field through, inter alia, quantitative survey investigations.

Quantitative analyses of this type do not, however, provide us with information about the reasons behind the observable phenomena. Why so many as 30% of the participants in higher secondary education do not complete their course, or what is the quality of the tuition, are questions we cannot answer as yet. It is therefore natural to point out the need to supplement such surveys with qualitative studies, perhaps specially orientated towards the problem of dropout. In the work to develop and adapt the educational courses available for adults, knowledge about these problems will be of great importance. Qualitative insight into the field of adult education will, in other words, make a valuable contribution in the work to realize the intentions behind the slogan lifelong learning.

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The Contribution of Voluntary Organization to Norwegian Adult Education

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Abstract

This paper gives a presentation of act, the scope and the content of adult education in Norway. On of the main objectives the law on adult education and the voluntary organisations, is to ensure that adult education contributes to reduce the educational cleavage within the population, and to strengthen the individuals ability to live a more fulfilling life. The paper poses the question whether the Government and the organisations are taking this objectives into account.

In this paper I will give a general presentation of Norwegian adult education with spesial emphasis on the role of voluntary organisations[1].

Lifelong learning

It is becoming commonly accepted that adult education is important. "Lifelong learning" is no longer a futuristic slogan advocated by idealistic pedagogues. Increasingly, politicians, bureaucrats, planners and managers come to recognize that lifelong learning is necessary. Adult education has gained political importance, not for idealistic reasons, but because society is becoming increasingly more complex. Not only does the business community have new requirements, so does the individual in order to orientate himself or herself outside and at the workplace.

Extensive and wide range of activities

Adult education is characterised by being multitudinous and creative. The activities range from porcelain painting, fire-arms skills, discussion groups on a number of issues, to international language certificates and higher education degrees. In spite of the fact that the voluntary organisations provide a service to a large proportion of the Norwegian population, they still are not defined as an independent entity. When describing Norwegian organisations, voluntary organisations within adult education are defined as sub-entities within larger organisations committed to other overriding goals. This is just one of several indicators which go to illustrate that the voluntary organisations contribute more than what the public seemsto be aware of.

There has been a lack of perspectives on adult education which sees the conveyance of knowledge and training as a goal in itself Till now the emphasis has been placed on conveying values or strengthering the "mother"-organisation. It is this latter perspective that has dominated official reports. For this reason it is perhaps not so strange that adult education first and foremost is assosiated with culture, religion, politics and special interests and not education!

For many people adult education is primarily associated with Bible study, basket-weaving, mediocre language courses or CND groups. No doubt these activities are rewarding for the individual, but do they belong on the Ministry of Education's budget? - A ministry which is responsible for educating the population in order to meet society's and industry's present and future needs?

A long-standing problem with adult education is that since it is so many-sided, it has been difficult to ascertain an overall picture of what it encompasses. There has, for example, not been adequate knowledge about how the funds allocated to adult education have been spent. It is therefore understandable that this is one of the first areas to experience budget-cuts in times of recession.

As mentioned, adult education is characterised as being multitudinous and creative. This begs the further questions of the nature of the multitude and does creativity have a value of its own? In which case who benefits from it, and who shall pay for it?

Despite the fact that the voluntary organisations' contribution to adult education has not been integrated into the goverments educational policy, the most of adult education in Norway is financed by the Ministry of Education. A positive development is that new requirements are being made of the organisations and public expenditure for adult education has increased (after several years of reductions).

Research questions

On the basis of empirical data covering the organisations, participation-rates and the educational programmes on offer, adult education will be evaluated. The following research questions are posed:

- *Is the supply of adult education by the voluntary organisations satisfactory when taking into account the broader need foreducation* *in Norway during the 1990s? Do voluntary organisations contribute to reduce the educational cleavage in Norway?*

- *Are activities supplied by the voluntary organisations a supplement to public education, and do they have the same goals? Or do they provide altemative programmes with different goals?*
- *Do the voluntary organisations fulfill the goals or requirements which they have set themselves, and do they fulf n the requirements of the Adult Education Act?*

Nationwide survey

To answer these questions FAFO carried out a nationwide survey in 1990. During the Autumn of 1990 FAFO received over one thousand replies from organisations. 37 of the 44 authorized voluntary organisations were represented in the sample. All the large organisations and the medium-sized organisations with the most distinct profiles were represented.

How extensive is adult education in Norway?

Table 1 Participation in adult education in Norway according to the largest educational institutions

Organizers	Participants	Percent
A. The voluntary organisations	600 000	44,6
B. Formal career developement at the workplace	600 000	44,6
C. Primary and secondary schools	43 000	3,2
D. Folk High Schools	15 000	1,1
E. Distance education	45 000	3,3
F. Labour market training	43 000	3,2
SUM	1346 000	100,0

Norway has short of 3 million inhabitants in the age-range of 10 to 74 years. Approx 1.35 million people in the above age-range participate annually in adult education programmes that satisfy certain requirements set out by the Norwegian Adult Education Act. Most of the training programmes take place at the workplace (45 percent of the participants) and the voluntary organisations administer 45 percent of these courses.

The school authorities administer approx 3 percent of all education (see Table 1).

The voluntary organisations' educational activities

70 000 courses were offered by the voluntary organisations in 1989, and approx 600 000 people took part. Song, music and esthetic activities dominated, with a total of 27 000 courses (see Table 2) and over 330 000 participants. The fewest courses were offered within service subjects. However, by using professional teachers and providing the opportunity to take exams, the 385 "service" courses are better organised compared to the others. The schoole of Travel and Tourism (REISELIVSSKOLEN) is the most typical example of this type of activity.

Table 2 The voluntary organisations ' total educational activity according to subject. Ranked

Subject	Number of courses
Song and Music	14 700
Esthetic subjects, Crafts	12 300
Trade Union Studies	8 217
Sciences	6 736
Languages	5 426
Social Sciences	5 272
Humanistic subjects, religion	4 277
Other subjects (f.ex. Sports)	4 175
Social and public health subjects	3 080
Economics, administration, computer sciences	2 933
Service	385
SUM	67 501

The Norwegian voluntary organisations

Table 3 The organisations grouped according to subject and area Total number of courses completed during 1989 for each organisation

All-round organisations
Workers Educationel Association, *151000 Org. 700* (Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund, AOF)

Association of Rural Organisations.

Languages
The Norwegian Association of the Deaf *2 000* (Norges Døveforbund)

Humanistic subjects, religion
Norwegian Christian Study Council

Table 1 illustrates which subject matters dominate the different organisations. The term "all round" is used to denote a broad subject matter. Large "all round" organisations offer more courses within a spesific activity than the organisations that spesialice in this activity. For example the Norwegian Association of the Deaf (NAD) is the only organisation that mainly offers language courses. Nevertheless, NAD is only the fourth largest when ranked according to the number of language courses offered.

The lack of courses in economics, administration and computer sciences in Figure 1 does not mean that these subjects are not thought, but rather that these subjects do not dominate within a single organisation.

To gain competence or to pass time?

In this paper I will argue that adult education cannot be simply categorised as either a means to gain formal qualifications or a means to pass time. There are at least three ways of categorising adult education:

A. *The ideologically motivated adult education where the goal is to convey clearly defined values. Political and religious organisations are examples of this categories.*

B. *Adult education directed towards well defined groups. Within this category we find humanitarian and professional organisations.*

C. *Adult education where the attainment of skills and knowledge is a goal in itself, and where values or organisational reasons do not play a significant role.*

The learning that takes place within these categories must be evaluated according to each their goal. The ideological (A) and the group oriented (B) learning are important in order to sustain a democratic society and in order to enhance equal oppurtunities. One of the most important tasks of the voluntary organisations is to contribute to the cultural, political, religious and social development of the enlightened citizen.

In this paper the emphasis will be placed on adult education as a means to attain competence (C). What can the participants hope to gain from self-financed evening classes? Most of the participants are generally satisfied with the training they have received.

The lack of certification

Some of the largest voluntary organisations try to market themselves as institutions of educating by referring to a growth in courses in economics, computer sciences and other subject areas that are explicitly linked to working life. But relevant subject matter is not sufficient in order to claim that the course is relevant in an educational perspective. Even more important is perhaps that the training is organised in such a way as to enable it to be integrated into a larger context, f ex. as part of a degree. Secondly, it is important that evidence of the acquired qualifications are made available through the issuance of certificates. In these matters voluntary organisations are not up to par.

In the survey the voluntary organisations had a tendency to underestimate the value of the courses they offered. In particular this applied to the standard of the courses, and whether or not the courses could be integrated into a larger degree[2]. This can be explained by the fact that the organisers primarily defined the voluntary organisations' role as cultural rather than educational.

Not having the opportunity to attain a certificate at the completion of a course is the major weakness with adult education in Norway in a labour market and educational perspective. It is therefore difficult to get newly acquried skills and competence recognized through the adult education programmes. This holds particularly true for those who have not yet established themselves in the labour market by way of another qualification. Till now this problem has been given little attention both by the organisers and by the authorities. The proportion of courses that culminate in the issuance of certificates as evidence of acquired skills and knowledge is very small. Even fewer courses offer exam possiblities.

Levels of education

63 percent of the courses on offer are of a basic nature, 34 percent are of a intermediary nature, while just over 3 percent are advanced[3]. First-year sociology, undergraduate degrees in law and post-education for engineers are all examples of advanced courses. Advanced courses are also offered within the fields of song and music. Therefore, the number of courses with this classification is higher in this FAFO-study than what we would otherwise find in official statistics.

The more advanced the course is, the greater is the interest in taking exams. Within the subject areas of economics, adminstration, services and the training of physical education teachers, a greater part of the training is organised in such a way that the participants can take exams. This is either organised as internal exams (courses aimed at physical education teachers) or that the participants enroll for exams with authorised examining-bodies (schools, colleges, universities).

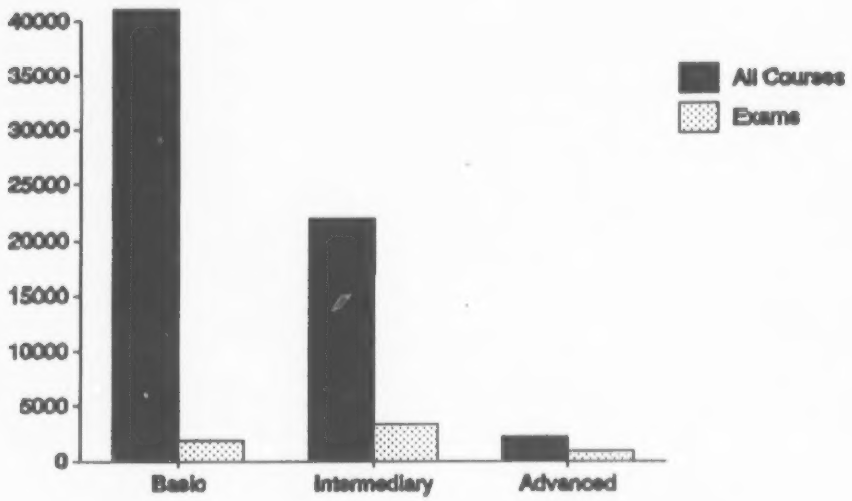

Figure I Number of courses at the basic, intermedary and advanced level in total, and number of courses where examinations are offered, for each level.

Adult education and the educational cleavage

We have seen that adult education in Norway is characterised by participants whom only to a very limited degree receive documentation for the skills or knowledge they have acquired. There are few oppotunities to take exams. This makes it difficult to utilise the acquired training in the labour market. Only a restricted number of courses can be combined into larger modules as part of a degree or qualification. The majority of participants within adult education already hold a higher degree.

Based on this fact we can assert that adult education in Norway does not contribute to eradicate the educational cleavage, even though this is the prime objective of the Adult Education Act and of the voluntary organisations. A number of Nordic reports have already pointed to this fact, but the authorities and organisers have not been able to act on it.

The goal conflict in the Norwegian Adult Education Act is a cause of tension. Section 1 states that the objective of adult educatuion is to promote equality in access to knowledge for adults. Sections 6, on the other hand, makes it impossible to meet this objective. According to Section 6 the voluntary organisations are to provide courses without set curricula and without final exams[4]. The provisions of Section 6 are probably suitable for political parties that want to introduce their members to the latest party programme. But what effect does Section 6 have on those who need formal qualifications in order to get employment or to get out of unskilled, low-paid jobs?

The intentions behind "freedom from exams and set curricula" were the best: The norms that were dominant within the traditional school system were not to be the only acceptable ones in order to receive additional funding for education. But theory and pracice did not coincide. After the law was implemented in 1977, the voluntary organisations reduced the number of courses offered which were comparable to the ones offered within the public schools. Due to the Act the public school system held a monopoly position as provider of formal qualifications for nine years. During this period there has been a sharp decline in the number of courses covering primary and secondary school curricula offered to adults. After 1985 the voluntary organisations were again allowed to compete with the traditional school system and the renewed interest has lead to a slight increase in the number of course offered the last few years.

Eight out of ten Norwegians between the age of 20 and 29 had in 1985 at least 12 years education. We could say the same for less than than half of all SO-year-olds. In order to reduce the difference between these generations, we must either renew and intensity our efforts substantially, or we must wait one or perhaps two generations before the large cohorts with less than 12 years of education are gone.

In order to fullfil the goal of equality of access to knowledge and education, it is inadequate to purely increase the size of the grants or to give the voluntary organisations freer hands. The main weakness in achieving this goal is the passiveness of the traditional school system. This can indicate that the Norwegian politicans do not associate "lifelong learning" with the educational needs of the nation. The public's supply of courses does not meet the adults'demands for more education.

If lifelong learning is to become a real option more of the educational programmes of the voluntary organisations must become a real supplement to the traditional school system. This would not be a sign of withering social commitment, but rather the opposite. Adult education based on values of solidarity must also be able to provide formal qualifications to those who so desire them.

As of date the voluntary organisations' most important contribution to Norwegian adult education has been in areas that lie outside the scope of this paper[5]. In a labour market and educational perspective the voluntary organisations can increase their efforts in two important areas. First of all, they can to a greater extent offer formal qualifications which are equivalent to courses within the traditional school system. Secondly, they can organise the courses they already offer more systematically, so that courses can be combined to make larger modules as part of a formal degree or qualification. This can be done by developing training and evaluation programmes. For this to succeed it is necessary that the traditional school system is willing to contribute in developing these programmes. This is perhaps the best assistance one could give to people that want to better themselves through education and training and who are not able to do so through the traditional school system or at work.

Notes

[1] This paper is based on the report "To achieve competence or to pass time? - Voluntary organisations' contribution to Norwegian adult education" ("Kompetanse eller tidsfordriv?") FAFO, 1991. The research project was commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research.

[2] I have taken account of this fact by adjusting up some courses. This means that the figure gives a slightly higher standard than what the organisations reported themselves.

[3] The voluntary organisations have defined their own course portfolios according to the different levels. The classification criteria they were guide by were:
A. Basic (beginners/primary school)
B. Intermedary (secondary school)
C. Advanced (higher learning, education college or university level)

[4] Section 1: The purpose of adult education is to help the individual to attain a more meaningful life. This Act shall contribute to provide adults with equality of access to knowledge, insight and skills wich will promote the individuals' endeavours to seek out their own values and help them in their personal development and thus strengthen the basis for independent achievments and cooperation with others and outside of work.

Section 6: According to this Act voluntary organisations shall be responsible for educational programmes for adults wich are not subject to set curricula or exams.

[5] The ideological (A) and the group orientated (B) education aims to develope culturally, politically, religiously and socially aware citiziens, and to further equal opportunities for special groups.

Development of Mother Tongue Teachers' Further Education

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Abstract

In Norway, Sweden and Denmark immigrant children can attend weekly classes with instruction in and about the language they use at home. The functional title for bilingual teachers who give this type of instruction in Norway *is mother tongue teacher (morsmslslrer).* This article presents data from a Norwegian survey of mother tongue teachers. It then discusses the professionalisation of the mother tongue teaching profession and the development of teacher-training courses. The project's name is *Bilingual Teachers in Nor vegian Schools* and it comprises two subprojects: I) *A Survey of Mother Tongue Instrucnon* and *2) Development of Further Training/Further Education for Mother Tongue Teachers for Language Minorities*. The project, a collaborative effort between the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education (Norwegian acronym NVI) and the Trondheim College of E~ucation (Norwegian acronyln TLH), was carried out in 1989 and 1990. The main issue the project dealt with was the wide gap between the goals of and the reality in the field of mother tongue teaching. The author was the head of the project. There are two reports from the project: *Seventy Languages in Norvay* (Norberg, 1990) and *Teacher Without a Portfolio* (Norberg (ed.), 1991).

Introduction

There is a formidable and ambitious immigration policy behind the concept of mother tongue teaching for language minorities in Norway:

> "A goal the school must have is that the pupils are able to develop a *functional bilingualism*. This requires a language acquisition which makes natural and situational use of the languages possible." (M-87, 1987)

The goal of functional bilingualism can not be attained without investing in many weekly classes in the language each and every year in primary school with qualified bilingual teachers in all of the languages which are represented in primary school. The actual situation in the autumn of 1989 was that mother tongue teaching was available in 52 of 70 represented languages, not including the two official Norwegian languages (Standard Norwegian and New Norwegian) and the Sami language (Norberg, 1990). The teaching comprised 56% of the 16,137 primary school children who were non-native speakers (children who speak another language than Norwegian or Sami in the home) (NOS B 909, 1990). In the autumn of 1990 there was an increase to 17,319 "non-native speakers" amongst primary-school children. Of these,45% received mother tongue instruction (WB9/91,1991)

Mother tongue teaching for language minorities in Norway dates back to the early 1970s. To begin with, arguments in favour of this type of teaching focused on the need for assistance during health check-ups, and the need to explain rules and help in disciplinary matters. Gradually, it was realized that the native language was the foundation for functional bilingualism and secure cultural identity as it is put in the curriculum *(M-87)*. There is no mention in the *Law for Primary Schools* of 1969 about a goal of functional bilingualism, but there is general wording stating that all pupils have the right to an education based upon their own premises.

When the preliminary work for the curriculum *(M-87)* was done in the early 1980s, the resident pattern and the composition of the immigrant population in Norway was more cle~r than it is today. The majority lived in the capital. This picture has gradually changed as more and more refugees have been placed in municipalities around the country. There are now stable concentrations in all the large cities.

Low Degree of Professionalisation in Mother Tongue Teaching

Mother tongue teaching is not highly professionalised. A profession consists of a group of people who have acquired a special education with the aim of attaining definite occupations (Colbjørnsen, 1990). According to Torgersen's definition we have a profession when 1) a definite long-term education is acquired by 2) people who largely are oriented toward attainment of definite 3) occupations which, according to social norms, can not be filled by other persons than those with this education (Torgersen, 1972). Olive Banks has expanded this definition by emphasizing that a profession also means autonomy in work and an obligatory work ethic which regulates behaviour (Banks, 1970). Wilensky states that an added characteristic of a profession is that it is a full-time job (referred to in Torgersen, 1972).

Studies have concluded that the degree of professionalism in education is very high (Colbjørnsen, 1990). If factors other than education are considered, however, there is reason to believe that in primary school, the teaching profession has in fact become less professionalised in recent years. Karlsen concludes in his study of the organizational structure of the school system that the teaching profession generally has a low degree of professionalism with, for example, a growing tendency towards part-time jobs (especially women), no obligatory rules governing a work ethic and no unique connection between a formal education and practice of the profession in relation to primary school (Karlsen, 1987). In the case of mother tongue teachers this tendency is very high.

Mother tongue teachers have a low number of classes per week (average 7. 8 in the autumn of 1989), they are often employed at an hourly rate and they do not have to satisfy formal requirements for their employment, even if *Circular no. F-47/87* from the Department states that those educated as teachers *should* come before other applicants. Mother tongue teachers today have no work instructions, are given no test when hired and there is no obligatory training in the profession. A few have had their education from abroad approved in Norway, while the majority have not had any teacher training at all. The educational background of mother tongue teachers in the autumn of 1989 is shown in table 1. Among other things, this table shows that the school authorities in the municipalities did not know the educational background of 22% of the mother tongue teachers that they had employed.

However, mother tongue teachers are on an equal footing with the fully educated teacher in one area. After the wage settlement of 1987 they received a wage scale that was approximately the same as that for a fully educated teacher.

There are many aspects to the issue of increasing the degree of professionalism in the mother tongue teaching profession. Firstly, the more professionalised it is, the more it can contribute to ensuring that important tasks are dealt with in a responsible way. However, in terms of personnel, problems may arise if the requirements for qualification are made more stringent and rigid than, strictly speaking, the task dictates (Colbjørnsen, 1990). Today's situation is, however, far from being satisfactory.

Of the municipalities which had mother tongue teaching in 1989, 89% reported that they had substantial problems in organizing the teaching.

The most often mentioned problem areas were as follows:

1. Difficulty in getting qualified teachers
2. Not enough classes in mother tongue teaching
3. Difficulty in obtaining teaching aids
4. A lack in supervision

Table 1. Background of mother tongue teachers in Norwegian primary school 1989 (n = 1,340)

	In percent
Teacher training which is also approved in Norway	9
Teacher training from native country, but not approved in Norway	25
Other higher education than teacher training	23
No higher education	21
Employer does not know teaching background	22

(Norberg, 1990)

It also came to light that only 12% of the municipalities with mother tongue teaching had courses or educational guidance services for mother tongue teachers, but far more municipalities than those which had mother tongue teaching stated that they wanted and needed courses. The types of courses wanted ranked as follows:

1. Instruction in Norwegian language
2. Instruction in Norwegian social conditions
3. Instruction in Norwegian school system/conditions
4. Instruction in language teaching
5. Instruction in the native language

In 1989 three mother tongue teachers commented on their work situation:

- *The pupils do not do their homework and do not come to class, and the parents believe the children will learn Norwegian quicker without the native language. The mother tongue teacher does not get as much respect as the other teachers, and he/she is considered to be a second-class teacher. The parents treat me more as a fellow countryman than as a teacher.*

- *The most difficult part is to be respected amongst the Norwegian teachers. I also feel that my job is not taken seriously. The task of being a bridge builder between two cultures often creates problems, mostly between the teacher and the parents.*

- *It is difficult to increase the pupils' knowledge when the schedule allows for only two classes per week and the pupils in the group are from the first, third, fifth and eighth grades. It is also impossible to obtain books which correspond to the Norwegian methodology. The books we buy in India are centred on Indian society which sometimes can be difficult to understand. It is also difficult because I am not a teacher. I do it as I remember it from school in my native country.*

But it is not all that bad. A total of 47% of the municipalities which had mother tongue teaching in the autumn og 1989 thought that this teaching had brought new resources to the school. The resource aspect can be ranked thus: 1) cultural knowledge, 2) well-being of pupils and 3) practical help for the school.

Teacher Training for Mother Tongue Teachers in Scandinavia

Sweden was the first country in Scandinavia with teacher training for mother tongue teachers for language minorities. The labour immigration of the 1960s made it clear that there was a need for personnel in the school who could speak the children's language. A number of local ad hoc solutions were tried during the first years. In 1977 a four-semester *mother tongue education course* was established in Stockholm and Göteborg. After some years the course of study was expanded to three years.

However, in 1989 the central authorities shut down all special education. Everything was to be integrated in the new programme for primary-school teacher education. This is a fouryear programme taught at the universities. Now, one's native language can be selected in many combinations at several levels.

However, people with secondary-school diplomas from countries outside of western Europe have experienced new problems in being admitted for study. For this reason, the number of student teachers with foreign secondary-school education has sunk dramatically in recent years. For example, in the fall semester of 1990, there were only four such students admitted to *The University of Göteborg* (Bredänge and Tingbjörn, 1990).

The Danes have a history of teaching Danish as a second language in the German-speaking parts of Jylland. Special training for bilingual teachers was, however, first developed in the 1980s. The basic training for teachers in Denmark takes place in teacher-training schools, while further education is the responsibility of *Denmark's Teaching College*. Special courses within the basic training for bilingual students are given in

Esbjerg and at two teacher training schools in the Copenhagen area. One of them is running a four-year course with graduation from secondary school as the admission requirement. Before admission there is an introductory course with entrance exams. The other teacher-training school offers a fouryear course of study for students with teacher training or other higher education from their native country. Both oral and written entrance exams are given. At the end of the study period the students take the same exam as that taken by Danish student teachers from the private teacher training schools in order to obtain a general certificate to teach in Danish primary schools (Andersen, 1990).

Norway's basic training for teachers (general teacher studies) is a three-year programme (four-year programme from 1992) and is taught in about twenty teacher training colleges around the country. Teachers for junior high school (the 7th to 9th grades) can also take their basic studies at one of the four universities.

In Norway, *The Sagene College of Education* in Oslo has offered two units of two semesters each (a two-semester unit is a full *one* year study programme) and three onesemester units for mother tongue teachers since 1986. *The Trondheim College of Education* started its second one-semester unit in the autumn of 1990, while *The Bergen College of Education* and *The Hamar College of Education* are still in their first class. These onesemester units can later be included as parts of the basic training or further education for general teachers.

The one-semester unit at Trondheim College of Education is composed of four independent further-education modules:

1. Norwegian language and children's literature (60 classes, plus an optional language exam)
2. Norwegian social conditions (40 classes, many guest lecturers from social institutions which the students help to choose)
3. Pedagogic topics (80 classes, plus four weeks of practice)
4. Bilingualism (60 classes, plus a term paper and final exam)

The one-semester unit was tried for the first time in 1989/90. There were three classes two days a week starting at three o'clock in the afternoon. The students received a course diploma for each module. The final exam consisted of a written and an oral exam. Altogether thirty students participated in one or more of the modules. The nine students who took the exam passed. There is reason to assume that having to write an exam paper in Norwegian was the main reason for so few taking the exam.

About ten mother tongue teachers have participated in Trondheim College of Education's one-semester unit in Norwegian as a second language for Norwegian teachers. Only four have passed the exam. Some bilingual students have also participated in the full three-year general studies course for teachers. They have substantial problems passing because of the requirement that the exam be taken in both Standard Norwegian and New Norwegian.

Norwegian Teacher Training Is Not Attractive

The Sami language has status as an official language in the core Sami areas in North Norway and can replace one of the two Norwegian languages in the general teacher training. Students with any other native language must take equal written examinations in both of them.

Only 2% of the 1,340 mother tongue teachers in the autumn of 1989 had education of at least one-semester's duration from a Norwegian teacher's training institution. On the whole, students with a foreign background experience that the general teaching studies in Norway are inaccessible as long as it is required that they take equal written exams in both the Norwegian languages.

It is possible for bilingual teachers with teacher training from their native country to be "subject teachers in the native language of pupils who are non-native speakers". Subject teachers must have an education in a subject or a subject area of at least three semesters, as well as two semesters with practical-theoretical education. This subject-teacher education also requires completing an additional two-semester course in accordance with an outline based upon a four- semester course in the native country's language and literature. Such instruction is given or has been given at the Sagene College of Education, Trondheim College of Education and the Bergen College of Education. The disadvantage is that the qualification the students attain here only applies to mother tongue teaching.

A working group was appointed by the Department with the mandate "to improve admission to and education of mother tongue teachers in Norway". They submitted their report in April 1990 *(Qualification of Mother Tongue Teachers. Report from the Working Group, April 1990)* where, partly to solve the problem regarding the requirement for both Norwegian languages, they proposed the introduction of a new category: "subject teacher for bilingual education in primary-school subjects". This requires three semesters of study in primary-school subjects within certain subject groups, at least one semester studying Norwegian in accordance with an outline and a two-semester course in practical pedagogics in accordance with an outline. This plan received the Department's approval in January 1991. This may prove to be a good programme for recruiting first-generation immigrants and their children into the teaching profession. This will also apply to pupils who graduate from secondary school in accordance with specially reduced curricula for non-native speakers.

Conclusions

The conclusion is that the services of mother tongue teachers are necessary in today's schools, but many different measures must be taken because the school authorities have major problems organizing the teaching in a satisfactory way. A considerable increase in the professional level of the mother tongue teaching profession as we know it today is, however, an unrealistic ambition which will only increase the difficulties in making mother tongue instruction work.

The school system needs bilingual teachers and it is also important to retain the expertise mother tongue teachers gain over time after mother tongue teaching in the various languages is no longer needed. Therefore, besides a shorter education programme, there is a need to make it more viable for students with a foreign background to increase their overall abilities in the teaching profession by studying for a full general teaching certificate. This can be attained partially with the approval of education from the native country and partially with studies in Norway. The following concrete measures are proposed:

- Develop exams/tests in Norwegian and the native language in question when employing mother tongue teachers. These teachers must also have adequate qualifications.

- Develop obligatory short-term courses for all current mother tongue teachers. The courses can be arranged by region or language group and could possibly be expanded into one-semester units.

- Develop short-term courses/material for parents so that they are able to actively support their children's mother tongue learning, especially where it is difficult to carry out mother tongue teaching in other ways.

- Make the regulations for approval of foreign education more flexible, as well as the regulations for bilingual students who want to take teacher training in Norway.

- Strengthen Norwegian as a second language at all levels.

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SWEDEN

Knowledge and Democracy

The role of adult education in collective and individual accumulation of knowledge

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Abstract

Parallell to the technical process, the possession of knowledge has become increasingly important to society itself and to individuals and the collective in terms of their ability to influence social developments. In Sweden's case, the view is generally taken that popular movements and popular education of various kinds have hitherto served important purposes in the production of knowledge. More recently, essential changes have occurred in popular movements and colective action, both nationally and interntionally, making it imperative to inquire into the process whereby knowledge is accumulated, individually and collectively. The present article touches on these changes and their implications on the acquisition of knowledge.

Background

In pace with technological evolution, the possession of knowledge has become increasingly significant for individuals and groups who wish to influence societal development.[1] The international debate about "lifelong education", "continuing education" and "lifelong learning" has focused on civil education as well as personal development.

In the Nordic countries it is generally acknowledged that social movements and other efforts promoting popular education have played an important role in the acquisition of knowledge through an accumulation of "cultural capital". But in recent years there has been considerable change in social movements and collective action groups, internationally and on a national basis.

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[1] Thomas, A.M. *Learning in society.* Ottawa, 1983

Traditional Research on Adult Education

When we look at individual and collective acquisition of knowledge, we find a perceptible difference between traditional North American research on adult education and and its European counterpart. This difference should be viewed in the light of how social and cultural legacies tend to color research traditions. The decentralized political and economic system found in the United States combined with an emphasis on social mobility has actively fostered a research climate that focuses on the individual. However a change in course becomes apparent when a long-term view is taken.

Without entering into an historical analysis it is worth pointing out the change in direction that seems to have occurred in the way sociology and social questions are treated in the field. Some early writing, particularly in the work of Eduard Lindeman, focuses on adult education as a social and collective phenomenon and on its functions in the process of democratization. (Lindeman, 1929; 1945). Some forty years later, a rather different picture emerges. In Jack London's article in the "Black Book" (London, 1964) the emphasis is on the relevance of the study of sociology to adult education practice and the focus is on the individual. What is either denied or has disappeared in the interim is the social or collective aspect of the earlier work: concern for how society is developing and analysis of the role of adult education in this process.[2]

When Swedish educational research focuses on the subject of adult education, a collective aspect materializes.[3] Links between the State, society at large, and social movements come into view. It can be historically demonstrated that the emergence of social movements is directly tied to adult education activities. In this sense, the movements can perceived as a counterpart of the frame factors in school . The autonomy of the study circle leaders and their adult students has, it is true, been emphasized by the independent and voluntary nature of adult education. But the strong ties to social movements characterizing most of these educational endeavors meant that intellectual content was subject to the wants and needs of the related movement. The actions of the movement led in turn to changes in the social relationships and the power structure.

Anthony Giddens, an eminent voice on social theory, has emphasized the significance of popular movements for the democratic process and contends that the research community has given the matter far too little attention.

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[2] Rubenson, K. "Sociology of Adult Education". In: Mirriam, S. & Cunnigham, P.*Handbook of Adult Education*.. San Fransisco: Jossey Bass

[3] Arvidson, L. *Folkbildning i rörelse* Malmö,1985; Ginner, T. *Den bildade arbetaren*. Linköping,1988; Hellblom, L., *Från primitiv till organiserad demokrati*. Stockholm,1985; Sundgren, G. *Folkhögskolepedagogik mellan myndighet och medborgare*. Stockholm,1986

> There seems little justification for this in a century in which revolutions and the clash of rival doctrines oriented towards radical social change have been so prominent, and one must agree that Touraine and others are right to claim that notions of organization and social movements are of equivalent importance in the modern era...[4]

Giddens, in his "theory of structuration", assigns central importance to the concepts "structure" and "agency". He uses the term "structure" to mean those rules and resources which logically and intentionally (discursively) are incorporated into the reproduction of the social system. The term "agency" refers to the behavior of the actors toward the structure. While an individual actor can influence the structure, the structure concurrently influences individual actors. Gidden's theory is based on an analogy to linguistics. When expressing a grammatically correct sentence, a speaker adheres to the rules of language while unintentionally contributing at the same time to the reproduction of the overall language system. "Agency" is associated with power, and power implies an ability, or capacity, to intentionally select among several possible actions.[5]

Social Movements and Collective Action: Comments from a Literary Perspective

Earlier we noted that there has been changes within social movements and collective action groups. The structure of the so-called neomovements, their methods of recruiting and modes of operation have been illuminated in an international perspective by Claus Offe, Carl Boggs and others.

Offe holds that developments in the western world have given politics a more direct and obvious influence on citizens, while the citizens in turn attempt to gain a more immediate and widespread control of the political elite through means not limited to the channels of representative bureaucracy. In his analysis of the neomovements, Offe compares the "old and new paradigms". While the core issues on the political agenda of Western Europe, according to the old paradigm, were economic growth, distribution of resources, and security, the core issue expressed in the new paradigm is life-style or way-of-life. The new social movements, says Offe, operate a noninstitutional policy for which the welfare state really has no room.

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[4] Giddens, A. , The *Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, London, 1984, p 203

[5] Giddens, A.,1984

One of the assumptions of liberal theory is that all actions can be classified as private or public (and hence political). According to Offe, the neomovements position themselves in a third, intermediate, category. They are active in issues that are neither private (in the sense that outsiders have no legitimate interest in them), or public (in the sense that they are not regarded as legitimate objects for political institutions and politicians). The problems addressed by the neomovements represent collective, relevant consequences of the conduct of either private or institutional-political actors, in other words, actions for which they cannot be held responsible through available legal or institutional mechanisms.

Offe deals mainly with four categories of neomovements, namely the environmental movement, the human rights movement (including the feminist movement), the peace movement and those movements which strive for alternative or cooperative forms of production and distribution of goods and services. His analysis is built on illumination of the movements' central issues, their sets of values, their modus operandi and the background of their members, their actors.

Where the actors are concerned, Offe holds that the most apparent feature is that they do not base their identity on a political right/left scale nor on a sociological tag such as working class/middle class, rich/poor. Most members belong to the new middle class or segments of the old middle class or to a category of individuals outside the labor market or in its periphery, (the unemployed and retirees).

Offe claims that there is a connection between the level of education of the members and the unconventional forms of political participation; in other words higher education will lead to an ability to form conclusions in complex questions such as ecological issues. Moreover, higher education promotes an ability to think and act independently despite any opinion held by others. The neomovements, says Offe, are not squared off against the predominant culture per se, but choose instead special spheres of interest from within it.[6]

Boggs, who approaches the neomovements from a Marxist-Gramscian perspective, arrives at certain other conclusions. However he too believes that the new social movements have begun to lay the groundwork for a new paradigm of oppositional activity. He claims that from the mid eighties onward, a broad depoliticization has taken place in the industrial countries, an evolution typical for a cultural milieu characterized by cynicism and "withdrawal problems". In such a situation, the neomovements in their most mature form can make up an antihegemony in the Gramscian sense, in so far as they lead to an ideological code that undermines the predominant patterns of thinking and acting. The fact that the neomovements originated in the periphery of a prevailing political system, says Boggs, does not mean that their radical intent or potential is dubious.

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[6] Offe, C. "New Social Movements: Challinging the Bounderies of Institutional Politics." In: *Social Research* 52, 4, winter 1985, pp 817-868

The *neo* aspect of these movements lies less in their discovery of new objectives and values, than in their being part of a historic amalgamation of economic conditions, social forces, and political manifests. In other words, the neomovements embody several popular ways of rebelling against issues left over from a period of abating industrial development: issues such as economic stagnation, ecological imbalance, bureaucracy. This confluence of objective conditions and subjective responsibility, historic occasion and ideological themes, global crises and new social movements, claims Boggs, provides us with what we need in order to fundamentally change the terrain for theoretical discussion and political action.

Throughout the expansion of capitalism, social movements have made an indelible impression on the political landscape, but they have also attacked large-scale organizations such as State government and corporate bureaucracy. Their forms of opposition have to some extent changed in pace with changes in capitalism. The model for plural democracy that emerged between the end of the second world war and the sixties was, says Boggs, corporatism. It was based upon the Keynesian idea of state according to a social contract between the working force, business and industry, and the state government. Negotiations and compromises were molded within an established system of rules and norms. The State effectively triumphed over the civic community.

The neomovements that appeared after 1960 were a new phenomenon in that they took shape outside the boundaries of corporatist interests. The main point is that, since they were broad-based forces for social change, they belonged for the most part to the civic community, not to the institutional sphere of pluralistic democracy.

Boggs observes too that the tendency of the neomovements to cooperate among themselves, as demonstrated by the feminist and peace movements, results in a radical potential far greater than the sum of the individual groups. Even if they have not had the power to dislodge the prevailing power structure, they have succeeded in introducing a new language of critique which fundamentally differs from traditional political theory and practice.[7]

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[7] Boggs, C. *Social Movements and Political Power. Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West.* Piladelphia, 1986, pp X, 5, 21

Mats Friberg and Johan Galtung point out that new issues came centerstage during the sixties and seventies. These writers hold that any movement worthy of the name must demonstrate collective action and active participation.

> It is important to understand that genuine popular movements constitute a democratic and creative element in our history. They are not fettered by bureaucratic logic that says that a task can be done only if someone upstairs says so, if funds are available and competent public officials are on hand to carry out orders. This type of movement rests on the initiative of ordinary citizens, voluntary work and layman capabilities. If the empowered elite is not willing to tackle the basic ills of society -- a not unusual circumstance in our modern world -- an emergence of social movements is the natural grassroots reaction, on the condition of course that the ruling group does not quash the attempt with through violence. Grassroots movements are quite simply a means for the populace to grasp hold of history when they feel that the official leaders are marching them in the wrong direction. Each society gets the grassroots movements it deserves.

Friberg and Galtung find it essential to distinguish between movements and organizations.

> A movement has in fact a tendency to subside into routine organizations once the initial wave of revivalism and enthusiasm has ebbed away. The broad front of member activities abates and the organizational pros take over. When a movement becomes institutionalized, it ceases to be a movement in the true sense of the word. Collective action as such is still formally present, but it is no longer based on a true mobilization of the members.[8]

Friberg argues that the counterculture is borne up by a specific generation: individuals now in their thirties and forties who felt the influence of the youth uprisings of the late sixties and early seventies. This does not mean that the younger generation disassociated itself from the lifestyle of the parent generation; rather they did attempt to live up to the set of basic values which the parents supported intellectually and morally though they may have been less successful practitioners.

> These (neomovements) protest against a trend that has dominated the scene for hundreds of years. My main thesis is that the neomovements seek to defend and continue to develop an alternative social order, which in part, but only in part, has roots in the lifestyle of the Dark Ages. And the neomovements are not alone in their effort. There has been a constant controversy about the modern social program since it was launched more half a century ago.[9]

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[8] Friberg, M., Galtung, J. (red.) *Rörelserna*: Stockholm: Akademilitteratur, 1984, p 12

[9] Friberg, M. "De nya rörelserna och de gamla". In: Friberg, M., Galtung, J. (red.) *Rörelserna*: Stockholm: Akademilitteratur, 1984, p. 337

Friberg further claims that the idea of representation being a channel for individual influence is viewed increasingly as being an illusion and that this fact has influenced all the earlier social movements of the western world. The early social movements still have an important role in domestic politics but they have lost their inner vitality, as measured in active members.

The neomovements however are characterized by ambivalence, which makes it difficult to pinpoint their identity. They have their picked troops in the postmaterialistic and antiauthoritarian generation that grew up after the second world war, individuals who acquired a relatively high education and continue to study or work in the public sector. A Danish study goes so far as to speak of "the revolution of educators". The typical activist works in the teaching or child care professions.

The historian *Bo Stråth* claims that while the focus of historical research during the sixties and early seventies was on either revolutionary social change or social equilibrium models, the issue nowadays is not so much on conflict-or-consensus as on conflict-and-compromise.

The evolution of a civic community from 1830 onward is apparent in the growing number of voluntary organizations and associations, many bearing the prefix "Society for...". The success of these groups marked the introduction of a new publicness in the Habermas' sense: The idea was to join forces without taking heed to given and rigid relationships; the principle of voluntary contribution was significant. "In many basic ways, today's Free Church bears greater resemblance to a savings bank than to the State Church of Sweden."

The search for a new ideological base does not however mean that a completely new and alternative hegemony was established. It is more accurate to say that the old one was restructured from within.

The core of the popular movements in Sweden, according to Stråth, consisted of lower middle class and upper working class individuals.[10] When these movements appeared, they shared the earlier liberal movements' demands for change but otherwise stood for a shift in values. The difference between a society and an association must be kept in mind.[11] Despite their differences, the three early social movements have several features in common, for instance a tendency toward puritanism and a striving for social equality. The first major period of growth occurred during the final two decades of the eighteenth century; by 1920, a total membership of 830,000 was divided rather equally among the three movements. There was some overlapping, it is true, but even when children and young people are taken into account, nearly a third of the general population belonged to one or several social movements. This was a mobilization of gigantic proportions that split the *bourgeoisie*.

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[10] Stråth, B. "Continuity and Discontinuity in the Passing Fronts I and II. Swedish 19th Century Civic Society: Culture, Social Formations and Political Change." In: Stråth, Bo (Ed.) *Democratisation in Scandinavia in Comparison*. Report from the DISCO Conference on Continuity and Discontinuity in the Scandinavian Democratisation Process in Kungälv 27-28 augusti 1987. Göteborg: Department of History, 1988, pp 21, 24

[11] Ibid. p 33

The social movements worked politically to achieve their goals. In 1911, about twenty five per cent of the members of the Swedish parliament belonged to a free church. Sixty four per cent belonged to a temperance league.

One of the most important activities was voluntary adult education which took place in evening schools. Nearly every association had several study circles and many set up their own library. Education was recognized as being an important means of achieving goals. Stråth emphasizes (as did Oscar Olsson, one of the main leaders in early popular education) the contributions made here by the elementary schoolteachers. Education and organization training was very important for the movements' parliamentary contributions. This focus on educational issues effectively prevented the emergence of a Swedish form of the German *Bildungsburgertum*.[12] A counterbalance to the established educational elite was built up, not only on a local level but even within the nation's legislative body.

In an article in *International Sociology*,[13] *Suzsa Hegedus* points out that no decade since the second world war had witnessed such massive and unexpected growth of neomovements as the 1980s and that never before had the discrepancy between practice and analysis of such movements been so acute. The expansion of the neomovements of the capitalist bloc into the Communist bloc and third world countries indicates that they had a new, genuinely global, dimension. Particularly in the western world, the eighties were characterized by a massive growth of neomovements that intervened directly into an arena formerly regarded as being out of bounds for social movements: the international arena.

A social movement of the new type is neither a being nor a feeling but a *doing*, Hegedus points out. It cannot be fixed in time or space: it is global *and* individual.

The movements of the seventies had a basically cultural dimension and intervened in new fields, those which formerly belonged to the private sphere, not the public. The movements also reflected the transitional nature of the period. They had new sets of values and new praxis, but "old" discourses and a leftist, anticultural sentiment.

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[12] Ibid., p 38

[13] Hegedus, Suzsa. "Social movements and social change in self-creative society: New civil initiatives in the international arena. International Sociology Vol 4 Nr 1 1989, pp 19-36

The movements of the eighties did not fit into any of our usual critiques but instead defied our traditional representation of social movements and our ideas of social change, says Hegedus, and uses the new peace movement to illustrate his theory. In contrast to earlier pacifistic movements, today's mobilization is not limited to weapons nor is it even focused on the issue of peace. Its actions are a direct confrontation of present security policies and are meant to stem the arms race. Today's protests are concerned with security issues and are aimed directly at the way the problem is dealt with. Beyond peace and disarmament looms the question of human security in its inescapably double dimension: security in a world weighted by conflict, and the security of this world in a nuclear era.

The innovative feature is that the issue of human security in a nuclear world is not subordinate to the issue of *East vs. West*.

The neomovements of the eighties are multidimensional:

a. They are a democratic protest that challenges State monopolies and the dominant structures for domestic policy.

b. They challenge prevailing problem-solving processes on an inter national level.

c. They are emancipatory and defy current patterns of civic involve ment in the political process and the predominant model for resolving conflicts on all levels: collective, interpersonal, local, national and transnational.

The emancipatory dimension has become increasingly important and is a key component in present drives and actions that take up various international issues.

Basically, all these new mobilizations of the eighties are parts of the same phenomenon and can be analyzed within the same theoretical framework. Hegedus' analysis is based on how the neomovements resemble one another in practice, and in the similar ways they intervene in State-controlled international issues. Although they have obvious differences, the movements also resemble one another in several respects:

1. The international character of the core issues.

2. The transnational dimension of the actions.

3. The autonomy and pragmatism of their interventions.

4 The way they redefine government-controlled issues to items of public concern by appealing to individual responsibility and solidarity on a transnational level ("We are the world").

5. The way they encourage immediate, local action for direct inter vention in international issues ("Act locally, think globally").

6. The innovative way they link international and domestic issues.

Above all, the several movements of the eighties have a basically similar ethical dimension, demonstrated by a nonviolent and expressive action, by their grassroot and antihierarchical organization, and by the way they mobilize heterogeneous single-issue-supporters on a local and transnational level. All the movements appeal to the individual and mobilize public opinion across national frontiers, creating a new border-crossing societal solidarity. They initiate public debate in State-controlled international issues and thus create a new transnational public sphere. They reshape prevailing international policy into controversial issues and use civil disobedience to set societal limits for the resolution of those issues. The movements also generate alternative approaches.

A social movement, says Hegedus, is a highly complex process for bestowing legitimacy and solving problems. Its core issue is not "power" but "empowerment", the ability of the individual to intervene directly in issues that concern him and to control his own future, in other words ability to decide one's own destiny, on a collective and individual basis.

A striking change, according to Hegedus, is that these new movements, as opposed to those of the seventies, definitely are not minority movements.

Barbara and Bronislaw Misztal, who have studied events in Poland during 1981–82, agree with Offe in that the analytical good of the dichotomy State–Society can be questioned. In any case, this premise will not hold for an analysis of the East European system. Instead we find a need to explain in terms of a State–Society relationship.

Until the late seventies, it was assumed that social movements would act within a more or less consistent paradigm of politics, where:

a. Socioeconomic groups were involved in distributive conflict.

b. Their activities were centered around such issues as economic growth, social security, and control.

c. Their flag values were private consumption and material progress.

d. Their modes of action were based on formal organization and re presentative associations or on corporatist-interest intermediation.

Active participation in a neomovement is usually based on a main issue and thus cannot be described in terms of class. The demands are not class-based, rather, they are universal and articulated on behalf of ascriptive collectivities.

The actors within the Polish organization, Solidarity, behaved quite differently from actors within the neomovements. Solidarity formalized the channels of information, the vertical and horizontal differentiation, and the implementation of negotiation and compromise. This pattern of action directly resembles the definition of Swedish social movements made by Hilding Johansson. The neomovements, on the other hand, are characterized by informality and discontinuity, a low degree of differentiation in both vertical and horizontal directions, nonnegotiated, noninstitutionalized and nonconventional forms of political participation and tolerance. A further characteristic is that they avoid direct confrontation with the State.

A feature shared by Solidarity and the neomovements is, claims Misztal and Misztal, an emphasis on an indirect limitation of state power by strengthening civil rights and liberties. But Solidarity, in contrast with the neomovements attempts to "enroll" the government power to guarantee and sanction privileges.

The most significant difference is that while Solidarity's main demands focused on economic distribution, security, and justice, the neomovements generally focused on the protection and restoration of noneconomic values.

In an article about West European social movements[14] Franco Ferarotti says that there are many indications that humanity, now at the threshold of the twenty-first century, has entered an synchronic phase that makes our planet seem to be a true entity. Events in Moscow or Southeast Asia have an immediate repercussion on events in Washington, Tokyo, Paris and other world capitals. Mass media covers the entire world, supplying it with opinions and announcements, even though the means of mass communication is no guarantee for the quality of information. Ferarotti speaks of a new "ecumenic impetus" which covers the world and which includes neomovements, often difficult to immediately recognize. A movement materializes as an enormous, volcanic stream of opinion; initially a diffuse mass, step-by-step it becomes capable of organizational structure and finally reshapes itself into a real instrument for cultural and socio-political action. Examples are the feminist movement, the peace movement and the human rights movement.

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[14] Ferarotti, Franco. Social Movements in Western Europe. Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume 1, Number 1, Fall 1987

The materialization of the neomovements can be explained in terms of change in values, though not in terms of a translation of values into collective involvement. Implicitly, Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" is part of the explanation. (Offe holds however that it is not really a case of value change but rather an emphasis on one particular value in preference to some other.)

Joachim Hirsch believes that a key political and theoretical question is the historic impact of the neomovements , their relationship to earlier forms of the labor movement, what new forms are possible, arenas and conflicting political content and new concepts for a progressive change in society.

The origins of the neomovements must, says Hirsch, be viewed within the framework of a massive critique of traditional left-wing concepts for political organization, class struggle and revolution during the postwar period; these are concepts which often have proven inadequate and been discredited by history. In brief: The neomovements are the true product of the social and apolitical form of Fordian capitalism, Taylorism, mass consumption, social disintegration, normalized individualism, exploitation of natural resources, bureacratization and State control. Their aim is to emancipate the individual, to reclaim a civic society, to be freed from bureaucratic controls and suppression, self actualization and to capture "the good life".

These movements are both antibureaucratic and collectivist, both conservative and progressive, both socialistic and liberal, says Hirsch. The old distinction leftwing–rightwing no longer holds. The neomovements are characterized by political and ideological vagueness and form a battleground of contradictions as the scene of the struggle for a new hegemony. What Hirsch feels to be a further problem is an institutionalization of the neomovements, particularly their transition into political parties.

The future of the neomovements is still an open question. How the present crisis of capitalism will be solved depends on the present struggle by and within the movements, on their ability to establish a new hegemony that will not dissuade conservative attempts to accept them. In turn, this new hegemony depends on events taking place in the traditional reformistic organizations.

Pertinent Questions

With reference to the reviewed corpus of literature and the theoretical framework used by the Adult Education Research Group in Linköping[15] and also to previous research on adult education conducted by members of this group[16], we find that certain questions present themselves.

The title of this article "Knowledge and Democracy" links the old question of whether or not "knowledge is power" to the more recent dilemma of "power over knowledge". The pivotal issue in other words is the relationship between possession of knowledge and the actual ability to exert influence, and, consequently, which individuals—or what conditions—truly control the acquisition of knowledge and its content.

As a background to this issue, it is suggested above that firstly, the Swedish social movements have built up a "cultural capital" through their organizations, and secondly, that there has been changes concerning the social movements and collective action groups. What is the implication of such change with reference to the accumulation of knowledge? Is there an "accumulated capital of knowledge and abilities" resident within the organization.

A query that emerges from this line of reasoning is "what is the source of the incentives and initiatives leading to knowledge accumulation?" Even though the final outcome may be similar, there is a cardinal difference between a situation where a group of individuals form a study circle on immigrant issues because a need is voiced from within the social movement , and a situation where the group is formed as a consequence of the Minister for Immigration saying that a popular education drive is necessary to improve the citizenry's understanding of immigrants and their conditions. (A similar instance is those efforts for "broad education in data processing" conducted by the adult education associations, where the corresponding question concerns whether the impetus is a need expressed by citizens to ensure control over developments in the information complex or the needs of the State to have knowledgeable citizens able to "promote the pace of progress in the Swedish economy".)

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[15] Rubenson, K. "Sociology of Adult Education". In: Miriam,S. & Cunningham, F. (Ed.) *Handbook of Adult Education*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989

[16] Arvidson, L. *Folkbildning i rörelse. Pedagogisk syn i folkbildning inom svensk arbetarrörelse och frikyrkorörelse under 1900-talet - en jämförelse*. Malmö: Liber, 1985
Arvidson, L., Höghielm, R., Rubenson, K., Svanberg Hård, H. *Folkhögskolans pedagogiska miljö - några teoretiska aspekter på formella och informella bildningsprocesser*. Linköping: Universitetet i Linköping, Institutionen för pedagogik och psykologi, 1988; Hartman, P. *Förädlad och sedlig. En studie kring de praktiskt-estetiska ämnena i sekelskiftets och 1920-talets folkhögskola*. Linköping: Universitetet i Linköping, Institutionen för pedagogik och psykologi,1989

The relationship knowledge–power is highly relevant for the new adult education movements. As mentioned above, Offe claims that there is a connection between a high level of education and unconventional forms of political participation. Does this imply that there is a relatively limited need for collective studies as an integrated part of the movement's program, in any case one that is less than the "classic" Swedish social movements of the early twentieth century. In his analysis of the neomovements Boggs accentuates the differences between State and Society even more. If one elaborates his Gramscian view, the accumulation of knowledge capital and establishment of a cultural hegemony would be essential steps in the process of influencing decision and achieving political goals. These would accordingly in this sense be included in the characteristics shared by the initial social movements.

According to the same line of Gramscian reasoning, the question presents itself as to the role of the intelligentsia in the creation of a knowledge capital. Is it relevant to speak of "a traditional and organic intelligentsia" in relation to the neomovements?

The educational debate has sometimes claimed that it will be necessary in the future to have an interaction between various forms of knowledge acquisition. It may be added that with such a holistic view, one must also reckon with several types of knowledge. We can employ the knowledge typology introduced by Emin Tengström. In Tengström's book, *Myten om informationssamhället*, (The Admass Society Myth), he claims that it is essential to have an interaction between four types of knowledge: everyday know-how, professional knowledge, scientific knowledge, and artistic knowledge.[17] The aesthetic areas, not least, have been subjected to State "fosterage" efforts.[18] More recently artistic expression has acquired a prominent place in various attempts to mold public opinion.

Other dimensions of the issue is whether knowledge accumulation is mainly universal or is related to vested interests, whether the main focus is on an individual basis or is collective, and finally, how "knowing" and "doing" are interrelated.

The two first dimensions have been dealt with to some extent . As emphasized in the report from the commission of inquiry on "Power in Swedish Society", an organization per se can exert tremendous leverage. Theoretically then, collective resources ought to be able to nullify the differences in individual resources. Experience from the official study of "citizen power" indicates however that collective resources of the type "membership in an association" does not do away with individual differences in contemporary society.[19] Reflecting on our earlier reference to the ability of the social movements to accumulate a cultural capital, it seems that this issue too will be a significant one in a comparative study of historical development.

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[17] Tengström, E. 1987

[18] 1940 års skolutredning and 1946 års skolkommission

When the question of democracy is introduced into research conducted on the adult education field and developments there, we find that it is particularly the methodology and psychological aspects which are explored. On the other hand, little interest has been directed to the educational agenda, in other words, to discover the issues and items that were selected for closer study, and why they were chosen. This surely is a pivotal question from the perspective of democracy.

The expression "educational agenda" hints at some type of action or behavior. In a democratic perspective, the aspect of action is an indispensable component. An key issue that seeks clarification is therefore the relationship between an accumulation of knowledge and subsequent action. Are there differences between different forms of knowledge accumulation in this respect? What role is played by tried and tested educational forms such as folk high schools and study circles as compared to other forms of knowledge accumulation? What importance does educational background have for deciding how to acquire knowledge that will lead to action and influence.

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[19] Petersson, O. et al., 1989, pp 212, 388

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Postmodern Learning Process - the Composition of Knowledge in New Social Movments

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Background

Within the research group at the Department of Education at the University of Linköping we are doing a research project which based on the changed situation tries to illustrate the interrelation between knowledge and democracy and the role that adult education plays on the compostion of knowledge for individuals as well as groups. My objective is to study the new movements as a part of the project.

The new social movements

In my selection of the new social movements I have had no ambition of covering them all. I have selected some contemporary groups which are said to belong the social movements of the 80'ies and the 90'ies. I am therefore not trying to generalize about the social movements but rather to capture their uniqueness.

Nine interviews have been made with representatives of the following movements:

- Majornas luftvärn (Environmental movement)
- Plogbilrörelsen, (civil disobedience, non-violence)
- Fristadsrörelse (network to the aid af refugees))
- ARRG (rock music movement)
- Trädkramare (environmental movement)
- Kvinnofolkhögskola (women's movement)
- Liv i väst (regional movement)
- Tibetansk buddhism (spiritual movement)
- Karnevalsförening (cultural movement)

The questions dealt with in the interviews are primarily focusing on three themes:

1. The movement. Its development, its function, its organization, the decision making process, etc.
2. The creation of knowledge. How knowledge is created. What is the incentive. Who takes the initiative. What methods are used. The opinion on different kinds of knowledge.
3. Adult education. Contacts with folk high schools and other adult education associations.

I am working on an analysis of these interviews. This paper gives some opening thoughts.

Modern kinds of knowledge

In the modern Western society man has developed into a one-sided subject whose task it is to resist that which can decrease its stability that being the irrational, the unconscious and the chaotic.Through a non-acceptance of a rhythm between the conscious and the unconscious modern society has succeeded in creating two "worlds" where one holds knowledge about the other one. The individual's "self" has found its mirrored image in an "objective " knowledge. The basic method of developing knowledge will then happen through an abstraction. A process which solely happens in the conscious mind.

In this manner the rational reasoning has separated life, bit by bit to see how life is composed of laws and causalities. This concept of controlling and mastering is by means of technology the tool that makes man's victory over nature complete. But the more man by means of technology exploits and destroys nature the more the tendency appears that man is destroying himself as well.

The modern individual's attempt to "forget" the unconscious has at the same time resulted in an increased craving for more knowledge, more capital, and more symbolic growth. A craving that contributes to creating far more problems and crises for man as well as nature and that seems continuously repeated until man discovers its reasons.

Is it in such a social situation one might expect a searching for the causes of this craving? Is it here one is to find man's renewed interest in "reality", in physical "nearness" and local "concreteness"?

Postmodernism

Postmodernism has crystallized itself into a generic term for a most varied questioning of some of modern Western society's characteristics. The French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard sees postmodernism as a process which tries to influence the original oblivion. The oblivion that arises when the Other which is outside the reason of the self is no longer accepted.

Like the dream that hides a forgotten destiny postmodernism defines what has been concealed in modern society. In a way similar to the one that a patient in phychoanalysis attempts to understand his problems through freely associating fantasies and dreams; the same way postmodernism turns to reason to uncover a concealed meaning.

The modern is characterized by a logocentric project that continuously implies a source or an origin that guarantees the validity of knowledge. Postmodernism strives for renewing and transforming modernism. At the same time one tries not to get caught in metaphysical greatness such as God, the Self, or the Truth.

Postmodern learning processes

The new social movements seem to be striving for developing a way of knowledge that resembles that which is being discussed within the postmodern dialogue.

A general characteristics of the new social movements' learning processes then seems to be the focussing on the making of differentiating. The French philosopher Jacques Derrida's speaks of the principle "La Différance" which as an invisible nucleus generates a continuously differentiating interaction.

The point seems to be a seeking for the rhythm and interaction which can contribute to freeing concealed and "silent" knowledge and to get over the self's isolating selfimages.

The common feature is that new social movements relate differently to how social changes are created. This implies an increased ability and competence for living with differentiation making processes in order to achieve an increased self-understanding of oneself as a person and as a people.

This attitude seems to make up the basis for being able to move the established social structure and for contributing to changes in society.

This is illustrated through a quotation from one of the interviews:

"I believe in the existence of an unconscious influence on the deep which is difficult to expose due to it happening as an undercurrent. However, when it becomes clear one can say, there it was! This is the only processs that can lead to a real political change."

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Adults' Life and Learning

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Abstract

The purpose of the project is to elucidate adults' knowledge projects and develop models to study

- how different forms of adult education has an impact on the individual's life, how existing provision is used and the meaning of participation
- kow the individual's knowledge projexcts are effected by different conditions in the surronding social context.

The project is using a case study and a reference group study. The case study includes a number of communities which have been chosen in order to cover different extent of urbanization. A grounded theory approach is applied. Data are collected by life-history interviews with an emphasis on the role of education and learning and on relevant persons in their social network. Participants are selected from municipal adult education (komvux), folk high schools and study circles. The preliminary analysis of the interview data originates from a view of adult education as a social phenomenon. A number of different dimensions and categories can be distinguished.

1. Motives to participate ("pull" and "push")
2. Significance to the individual (existential, didactic)
3. Implications to the particular person("salvation", instrumental or social contacts)

The second point of analysis is focussed on approaches to learning (learning projects).

1. Learning styles (inductive, deductive)
2. Function of learning (mean, terminal)
3. Relation to life context (distinguished or integrated).

In a more extensive study the impact of the reference group will be elucidated. This is planned to be carried out by analysing national educational statistics.

Background

A natural basis for a study on adults' learning is the discussion about lifelong learning and lifelong education. In educational planning learning as a lifelong process has become the dominant idea during the last 10-15 years. Proponents of that view regard lifelong learning as an attempt to integrate different parts of the educational system.

It is of great importance to clarify and to map how the process of learning is linked into the cultural pattern and into the lifestyle for different individuals and various social groups. A better under-standing of this problem gives us an important development of the research on recruitment to adult education.

Participatory research

Research on adult education in Sweden during the last twenty years is characterized by studies of recruitment, studies of instruction and studies of consequences of participation in adult education. An OECD-report (Schutze & Istance, 1987), discussing recurrent education, summarizes par-ticipatory research as dominated by two main streams. One can be labelled as statistical, which means that one often uses great surveys. Central issues are e g "How many participants are there? Where are they? Who are they?" The approach gives, on a major level, information about the proportion of adult students in one specific program at a specific point of time, the number of courses etc. The data are analyzed in relation to age, gender, socioeconomical and educational background. The results provide information about what how the "typical" adult student looks like, and which educational routes he chooses (e g Höghielm, 1987). However, these results cannot reveal how differences in age and social background emerge in new "formations" or elucidate what the "atypical" adult participant looks like. There is reason to be reluctant about these kind of statistical studies. Correlations are too often interpreted as causal relations. The danger of such misleading conclusions is particularly great with this approach and there is a risk that the results can misguide in the process of policy decision.

The other stream can be labelled as individual-psychological. Studies in this area often focus on the person's motivation as a "key" to understanding why some adults participate and other do not. The characteristics of these studies are to try to find motives, objectives and interests by asking the individuals "Why or why they do not participate in adult education? What should they study if they participated? What are the obstacles in participating?" The main result of this approach is that participation to a large extent is dependent on whether the person perceives any future value of education. Another result is that there is often a distinct difference between what people say they would like to do and what they actually do. Such results are certainly interesting but they do not give much contribution to an understanding of recruitment.

Most models and results which deal with participation in adult education are directed to in which extension a person can be recruited to any kind of adult education as it is provided by local society. They are also focused on how these participants differ from non-participants The problem is that this research in an unreflective way presumes that human beings are determined and capable of free choices and can carry out acts to bring about fundamental changes in their lives. General models for recruitment consider in a growing way sociological variables (Cross,1981). However there is no connection to the arguments about the importance of the reference group to participation in adult education.

Research on self-directed learning

The described models of recruitment all harmonize with the providers' perspective not with the participants' real acting. How does a person act who has to face a situation which in reality within the individual causes a need for knowledge? To understand a person's acting and to try to solve a knowledge problem one has to consider what plausible action the individual begins with. It cannot be taken for granted that one immediately looks up the nearest provider of adult education. It is reasonable to presume that the individual considers if he on his own can solve the need for knowledge. The situation can be compared to a project one has to face where the objective is to obtain new knowledge because of different purposes (Tough,1971).

The discussion can be coupled to the ideas of self-directed learning which emerged during the 1970's. The concept stands for activities which cannot be attached to organized adult education but to the individual itself. The debate about self-directed learning has been conspicuous particularly in North America. The research work of Alan Tough has especially been observed.(Tough, 1971).

In a Swedish study Borgström (1988) has showed that self-directed learning is not a general activity enclosing a majority of the population but only a few. This group is to a high level welleducated compared to those who participate in organized adult education. In spite of that organized adult education has been criticized for not reaching its target group. One can say that these results show the importance of the allocation policy of adult education. Without organized adult education the discrepancies between different groups in society would be greater considering the active process of seeking for knowledge.
The purpose of the projectIn the preceding text we have dealt with adults' knowledge projects from mainly two aspects. One is related to the perspective of life-long learning which contains other sources of knowledge and impact of environments than those which are provided by the organized adult education. The other aspect treats the the recruitment as such with its institutions, people and what pedagogical praxis one can offer.

From that background the project's major purpose can be summarized as follows:

* to elucidate adults' knowledge projects from a regional perspective

The starting point is to develop models to study:

- how adult education comes into single person's life, how she/he uses provided offers of adult education and what participation means to her/him,
- how people's seeking for knowledge is influenced by different socio-economical conditions and the structure of the local society.

The project is planned to enclose different places. In all cases the purpose is to study under which conditions people from different districts participate in formal, non-formal and informal adult education.

Formal education is equal to adult education which gives formal competence and follows curriculums which are sanctioned by the state. Non-formal education stands for education which is outside the formal school system, i.e. study circles and courses organized by the enterprises. Informal education means all learning which takes place outside organized education e.g. in the form of so called every-day learning or self-directed learning. In the present study informal learning stands for the intentional learning people are engaged in outside organized education.

In a study like this it can be a disadvantage to start from the traditional perspective of power. In practice this means, for example that this perspective observes the outcome of the "fine culture" not more folkloric activities or that the visible economy (income, fortune) supercedes the informal economy where the meat from hunting is of great importance. Considering education the parallel can be drawn to organized education and self-directed learning. Participation in organized adult education does not necessarily stand for increased resources compared to self-directed learning. The latter can be - **but does not** mean - a qualified form of improvement and development. However, it is important that people's self-directed learning is considered in a study on people's search for knowledge from a regional perspective.

Data collection

In the case study which is being carried out, adults' learning projects are being illuminated from the regional perspective. Students from study organizations, folk high schools and municipal adult education have been picked out. The case study is qualitative in character and will be able to give us information partly of how individuals proceed in using the supply of adult education in the local society (community) and partly of their personal learning activities. Each of the persons chosen for the case study is interviewed about his or her life-story, the importance of education and learning in his/her life etc. An ethnographically oriented approach concerning the learning of adults can give two advantages. One advantage is the possibility to discover the human behind the roles and the variables (statistics). Another advantage lies in the possibility of finding for example alternative resource concepts.

The case study will later be complemented with a more extensive reference group study. In this study the line of questioning will concentrate on the importance of the reference group compared to the member group. Here we are going to address a larger group of individuals who take part in organized adult education.

The case study

In this section three questions will be discussed: the research strategy, the interview method and the preliminary analysis in connection to the accomplished collection of data so far (cf Naeslund, 1991, for a discussion of the case study and the experiences of the first collection of data).

The research strategy

When a qualitative method is used, and especially when concerning explorative studies, the study is usually located to environments mutually dissimilar. The logic of this is way of procedure is that a phenomenon is more easily recognized when contrasts can be found in the research material(cf Arfwedson, 1985). A partly diverging standpoint is taken up here by Glaser and Strauss (1967) who recommend maximal homogeneous samples in an introductory phase and maximal heterogeneous samples in a later stage. The contradiction, however, is illusory, for what Glaser and Strauss mean is that patterns in specific context can appear in different ways when the collection of data is carried out elsewhere.

According to our plans interviewees were picked from the following type of communities:
- a regional capital (carried 13 interviews out)
- a sparsely populated community (carried 11 interviews out)
- a smaller town (carried 12 interviews out)
- a big city (yet to be caTTied out).

Our contact person at each study area asked a number of adult students to participate in an interview. One argument was that the persons participating got an opportunity to be heard and maybe influence adult education in some way. It is not unlikely that the sample therefore represents a somewhat more positive assortment than the average population if recognizing factors like devotion and eloquence.

The interviews

One of the aims of the first study was to try and compare the possibility of two different interview approaches. In one the interviewer, by way of introduction, gives a detailed description of the purpose and problems of the study in the hope of making the interviewee talk freely without need of steering questions while the interviewer listens, encourages and summarizes. The procedure bears resemblance to the so called life-history which is often used in ethnographical research, where the individual perspective, human fate, is more important than the "facticities" in the life of the actor (cf Andersson, 1988). A variation of the method, life story, is just as based on the interviewee's initiative, but here you presuppose the actor to present a chronological description, where the interviewee's selection of episodes accounted for are presumed to mirror the person's interpretation of her/his life (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975).

In the other approach the interviewer conducts the interview by covering a number of different subjects, in our case the motives to participate in adult education, growing up, experiences of learning projects, the connection between work, family life, activities in leisure time, study interests etc. This method is sometimes called a qualitative research interview. The experiences from the first collection of data showed that the interview approach probably had a minor importance for the result of the interview. The interviewee's proneness to talk, the sensitivity of the interviewer and the interaction during the conversation were factors of greater importance.

The collections of data were carried out during november 1990-april 1991 in three different communities by four interviewers. In total 36 interviews have been carried out. Our experience is that a common collection of data such as the one we did has qualities and advantages which are absent in the scientific "one - man - enterprise." On the other hand part of the total overview is lost when collection of data is spread out over four different persons. Therefore, we developed a strategy for exchange of experience between the four of us immediately after each interview in order to minimize the disadvantages and maximize the advantages with teamwork.

A preliminary analyses results

At the time of writing this paper the studied material had not been scrutinized in a systematic way. However themes, dimensions, concepts and hypothesis which can be derived from the material will be presented. Thus a more close penetration will be carried out when all collection of data is finished and documented.

Adult education as a social phenomenon

A preliminary analyses of results has started from adult education as a social phenomenon, where different dimensions and categories can be recognized:

1. Incitement to adult educational studies
2. Significance of the individual
3. Implications to the particular person.

Incitement to adult educational studies

The interviews often began with the question dealing with the person's motives to participate in adult education. The question gave an authorization to the interview because the courses are financed by state money which means that both the providers and the society have an interest to follow up the activities.

In social science one sometimes talks about two types of incitements: "internal pull" and "external push". Both factors are represented in the material. External push is present with Eric who has begun to study in Kom-Vux (municipal competence given adult education) to be retrained because of a chronic disease which has recently hit him, Margerite who just has obtained a new job which demands a better knowledge in English or Stig who has been confronted with conflicts in both job and family life which encourages residential studies.

With certain persons internal pull very clearly emerges. For example, Ann and Bengt obviously have chosen badly early choices in their education and work life which predestinate them to looking for a new identity where adult education plays an important role in their personality development. Another pattern can be studied with Ewe and Carin who have suffered from political and cultural poverty. The decision to begin studying was a result from a process of maturation. Ewe talks about fulfillment of an old dream she has had for ten years. If she had not got the opportunity to materialise her dream now (age 36) it would never have come true.

A combination of internal pull and external push is present with Lena who, during the last five years, has experienced an increasing desire to study. This feeling has been reinforced by the fact that the struggle for economical survival has decreased and that her children have grown older and more independent. However, work-related injuries was the dominant incitement for adult studies aiming at a retraining program.

Learning can take place in a position (life circumstance) which is closed or open. The situation is closed if the person has bad economy, bad health, boring job, frustrated family situation, etc. It is open if the person's life is positive in these aspects and gives a satisfying space for acting. One would presume that open situations stimulate learning. However, a number of the interviews indicate that closed situations in the life cycle will trigger the studying activities. An example of this is Nils who has work-related injuries as a welder which caused him a long standing illness without the possibility to work. After a couple of years he could not stand the situation any longer. He declared himself healthy again and became registered as unemployed. After that he applied for a special study allowance for adults and became a student at a folk high school. Evert however was more or less forced to start studying because of a industrial injury. On the other hand the studies meant to Evert a complete personal conversion. At the interview Evert was enormously enthusiastic over his studies.

Significance of the studies

All hopes have indeed been fulfilled to those who have chosen adult education from "internal pull". In the cases of Carin, Ewe and Bengt it is no exaggeration to discuss a liberating process from darkness to light. Carin has not only obtained certain knowledge which guides her in life, she has also begun to understand different patterns in society and has begun to search for information on her own. A new world has opened to her. She now has an ambition to become a teacher in humanistic subjects. Earlier she suffered from always being out of personal resources, being bullied and employed in low status jobs. Bengt who has tried a number of different vocations formulates a philosophy that manual tasks bind the individual to limitations in time and space while intellectual tasks contain a liberal potential. The reason is that one, at least in thought, can imagine a more attractive alternative even if one cannot immediately materialise it. Ewe tells us that the studies which begun three months ago have enabled her to take notice of news and texts in a quite different way than previously. She looks up words, names etc which she does not understand, thoughtfully reads the newspaper not only for entertainment.

The content of the studies and its form has also taken on a new meaning to the interviewed persons as adults compared to the former role as pupils. There are several examples in the interview material which describe how fed up they were with school and sometimes the agony they had experienced. As an adult student they often experience a total changed role as a student.

Ewe testified to a new preparedness to theoretical explanations in subjects of skill such as Swedish, mathematics and English. Earlier they knew how it "should be" but not why. As an adult you are more open to supplement old action rules with such rules of insight told by mathematics and grammar. Thus theoretical knowledge has obtained a new legitimacy and also gives satisfaction. Both Ewe and Eric tell about the new role of orientation subjects in their lives. As a young person you received answers to questions you never asked, while as adult student you face via the subject items (life)questions which you have already been confronted with. Ewe claims that even knowledge about facts such as where a country is situated causes an increased confidence because it is so irritating to listen to names you cannot place. Eric left school 33 years ago before Kom-Vux. He emphasizes that education nowadays provides a more open picture of the world compared to the narrow-minded Lutheran picture you received during the 1950's.

The first data collection indicates that adult studies really have an existential meaning to the interviewed group. Some of the interviewed persons get "heureka-experiences" in connection with the interview and are satisfied to formulate questions about their own lives, something they have not done before. A conversation which is finished by a summary carried out by the researcher gives confirmation if the interviewed person recognizes himself / herself.

Implications of adult education

Several interviews indicate that the studies have been experienced as a salvation or a rebirth. One example is Martin who is 40 years old and before his studies had a job that made him feel mentally "brain dead" and who also suffered from an ulcer which periodically entailed daily vomiting. Studying radically changed Martin's life content. His rebirth appeared in the following ways:

- A new orientation of the surrounding world. He began discussing, reflecting and seeing the world around him.
- His relations to his children. He used to participate in their outdoor activities and nothing more. Now the intellectual exchange of thoughts has begun to work. He helps them with certain subject which gives results in school and they help him.
- Active spare-time. He used to just have the strength to watch TV. Nowadays he does repair jobs around the house (he explains this by saying that his brain halves are in better balance - the intellectual stimulation makes him more full of enterprise also when it comes to practical things).
- His health has improved.

The merit giving effect is represented in several interviewees. It can concern the feeling of competence as with Arne who studies music at a folk high school. Even though he has been able to play and compose most of his life, he now gets a kind of authorization that he can do it, that he isn't just a self taught amateur. Or Marie, 27 years old, only with a short time of education behind her, but who has always liked to discuss and be informed about social and political issues and dares to do so with a greater sense of self-esteem now that she has something to build on, that is, studies at a folk high school.

Social contact through adult education has for a long time been regarded as a function with study circles. In our interview material however, at least in the analysis conducted so far, a less clear aspect appears. To the extent that it exists two categories can be discerned, one which can be connected with experiences of unity and one that can perhaps be said to confirm one's own person.

Ways of approach to learning
The second starting point for the analysis emanates from ways of approach to learning:
1. Learning style 2. The function of learning 3. The context of learning

Learning style and function of learning

The way of learning is a dimension which from the beginning wasn't planned to be dealt with in the project. During the introductory interviews however, this dimension began to take shape due to the fact that the interviewees, when telling of their relationship to learning and education, also often described how they learned. Two main-categories can be discerned, one inductive way and one deductive.

Two examples that will illustrate both the way of learning and the function of learning as goal or means. In Martin's case, learning is not a goal but a mean. That is to say, the goal is a practical problem solution and the learning therefore becomes a by-product. On the other hand in Christina's case, learning is a goal in itself, from the aspect that it is an important dimension in her way of life. She prefers the deductive way of learning, that is, gathers knowledge through reading and then puts it into action.

The context of learning

This concept refers to how integrated learning is in a person's life, to what great extent it constitutes an important ingredient in the person's way of life. The interviews show that, as in the Christina-case above, learning for some people is included in their lifestyle, is constantly present. They both attend courses and study circles and learn on their own initiative. In many cases it is artificial to discern the learning as a demarcate activity in these people's lives. Inger, a teacher in the lower department, attends three different study circles all together. Besides this she is active in a local society that is trying to start a cottage village. The activities of the society are very much like those of the study circles. For other people learning is both a limited and a demarcate activity: for Anna the study circle she attends at 49 years of age is the first deliberate learning activity she has carried out since she left elementary school at the age of 13. Allan is presently attending municipal adult education because he requires knowledge of a certain kind, but he has not studied before and has no plans of continuing in the future.

Concluding discussion

During the last twenty years the political discussion concerning adult education to a large extent has circled around the two contradictory principles of equality and service (cf Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985). Lately, however, the arguments about allocation of adult education (equality) have become more rare, probably depending on a changed political climate for debate in combination with a reduced optimism concerning the role of education. The service political aspects seem to be of more immediate interest, at least those aiming at providing the labor market with qualified manpower. The increasing concentration on in-service training, which is obvious from the adult education statistics, indicates this as being the case.

Within the professional sphere the debate has preferably dealt with the kind of attitudes and methods that should permeate the educational practice. Administrators and significant persons within the field have claimed that influence /steering of the participants should characterize the education of adults. Some of the components in the adult educational ideal have, however, its origin in a stern reality where there was a lack of e g educated teachers - a reality which formed the conditions for popular education during the early part of this century (Arvidsson, 1985). Systematic observations of the instruction in Swedish "komvux" (municipal ad ed) showed that cramming -and not participant steering- was taking place (Höghielm. 1985). This perhaps pessimistic view of the reality in the classroom has to some extent been modified through ethnographical observations of how the rules for the play in the classroom are formed in the confrontation between teachers and participants (Larsson, 1990).

In our study, however, the focus is on the participants' perspective of being an adult student. Already the first analysis seems to indicate that adults' learning activities have existential values. This is something that might not have been given enough attention in the political debate Our angle of approach makes it possible to shape how adults learning can influence the life quality of the individual. Such a humanistic approach might bring new aspects into the debate on both the political and professional arena.

At best the illustrations of these dimensions of education and learning can influence the rules for and the planning of recurrent education. However, these are issues that we will have reason to return to in a later phase of the project.

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The Research Circle— some educational perspectives

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Abstract

The research circle can be described as a kind of study circle with the participation of researchers and where the focus is a problem pointed out by a trade union. In this paper, with the experiences from the Uppsala region as a background, some educational perspectives on the research circle are o.ffered. Educational research of relevance for the research circle is scrutinized as well another, similar areas of research. The theoretical contributions of Paulo Freire and Oskar Negt are used to analyse the proceedings of the research circle. Further, epistemological issues and the role of the researcher are discussed.

Introduction

The relationship between the Swedish Trade Union Movement and the scientific society developed during the last two decades undoubtedly gained a great deal of impetus from the outburst of the new labour laws of the seventies. Among the most important and well-known are the **1974 Security of Employment Act, the Work Environment Act in 1977 and the Co-determination Act from 1977.** As a consequence, this resulted in a great number of new tasks and demands for the trade unions and an increased interest in the knowledge resources of the universities.

A co-operation is formed around university courses for union people and as the mutual exchange of experiences is deepened, the idea of the research circle is born. Regional relationships between the trade unions and universities are established all over the country. Among several forms of co-operation the research circle is always an important part. Other forms are for example union seminars and conferences where researchers contribute.

So in addition to the traditional research projects initiated by the national trade unions, there have been for a number of years some small but principally important financial resources for **regional** union contacts with the universities. Combined also with other resources, networks of contact and co-operation have thus been built in several regions. It is probably fair to claim that to-day the co-operation with researchers from the universities is an approved activity in the reportoire of the trade unions (see e.g. Danvind & Mörtvik 1991).

The research circle is relatively widely used and is considered by many observers to be a useful and promising model of co-operation. Some experiences and reflections concerning this model are offered below.

Background

The origin of the research circle was derived in the mid-seventies from the co-operation between the University of Lund and the Labour Movement's Committee for University Studies and Research (in the south of Sweden). To begin with, this resulted in a number of university courses for union representatives. However, it did not take long until several conditions contributed to the growing needs of other, more flexible forms of co-operating. The idea of "research-linked study circles", later simplified as "research circles", was therefore born (see e.g. Gunnarsson & Perby 1981, Nilsson 1990).

The research circle rapidly proved to be a very vigorous "invention" which nowadays is widespread throughout Sweden. Primarily, but not exclusively, it is used in the co-operation between trade unions and researchers.

The first research circles were started in the Uppsala region during the spring of 1984 using the existing experiences from Lund as a foundation to build upon. In the last few years a total of some twenty or thirty circles have been initiated and the amount of experience is therefore quite considerable. The following account is based upon the experiences gained from circles in the Uppsala region.

First, however, we will briefly descibe in the next section what is meant by the term "research circle".

What is a research circle?

Briefly a research circle can be described as a kind of study circle with the participation of one or more researchers. Further a problem selected by a trade union as important to investigate more thoroughly is the point of departure. Usually the circle is based upon the assumption that there are certain knowledge resources to employ systematically. Firstly the knowledge and the experience of the union participants must be fully used. Secondly the participating researcher may have important knowledge of the problem under study. The researcher may also be of great use by supplying his/her professional skill of analysing any problem systematically. Furthermore the researcher can quite easily contact and also invite to the circle other researchers who are specialists in an area connected to the problem studied.

A general observation that can be made is that there is great variation in the content and focus of the work of the research circles . They concern anything from very tangible and well-defined issues (e. g . the work environment for a certain group) to próblems on a most complex or abstract level (e.g. the crisis of the Swedish public sector or the possibilities of a local community to survive in times of depression). As a consequence of this the pedagogy and the method of the circle work varies with its aim and direction.

All the research circles are based upon the explicit epistemological view that the knowledge and the experiences of the participants constitute an extremly valuable resource in the proceeding of the circle. So it is an important aim for the researcher to capture and highlight the views of the union members and to seriously take their knowledge into consideration.

The design of research circles

There are many different ways of organising the circle work. Usually, though, the members of the study group agree to meet regularly, for instance half a day once every fortnight. If possible the circle meets during daytime, if not, evening meetings can be used. The number of participants varies but to create an atmosphere where everyone can feel free to talk we would recommend ten as a maximum. In the beginning of a research circle it is vitally important to learn to know each other and to develop trust. This may well take its time. It is essential that the researcher presents an open attitude and that he or she listens with a keen ear to the viewpoints of the union participants. Usually a great deal of time must be devoted to defining and describing in more detail the problem that the circle sets out to work with. The problem could be any kind of issue of importance for a trade union and the role of the researcher in this phase will be to listen and perhaps help in structuring the discussions.

It is also important, throughout the circle work and especially in the beginning, that the researcher aims at establishing a co-operation on equal terms. This means that nobody is considered to be more of an expert than the other and also that they appreciate that there is much to be learnt from each other.

Possible expectations of the union participants that the problem under scrutiny will be solved through the activities of the circle must urgently be removed. Admittedly the problem is "attacked" and the knowledge about it usually grows quite considerably. But it is hardly the proper task of the research circle to deal with possible measures. Maybe a basis for a union action programme is drawn up and perhaps the activities of the circle result in various union measures in order to cope with the problem. The primary task of the research circle, however, is to convey and develop knowledge.

It often happens that in the initial period there exists an amount of uncertainty or even doubtfulness concerning the task of the circle as well as what should be done or how to proceed. Such a phase of uncertainty may also appear during later periods of the circle work. This can be difficult to handle, both for the researcher and the other participants, unless they are prepared for it. The experiences from previous circles do offer some advice though. According to these experiences it seems wise to try to tolerate a fair amount of uncertainty. Perhaps periods of doubt, questioning and apparent ineffectiveness are inevitable aspects of this kind of creative activity. Undoubtedly it takes time for the fruitful approaches to ripen and similar latency periods are well-known from other kinds of creative work.

A great deal of work can be done between the circle meetings. The union participants may contribute by collecting information about, for instance, their workplace. Usually the researcher tries to find research results or ongoing research of interest to the circle.

The primary result of a research circle is simply the growth of knowledge. Sometimes, though, more tangible results may occur, e.g. a (short) written report or an exhibition.

The research circle as an area of educational research

Some relevant lines of research

As an area of educational research the research circle can be approached through the perspectives of some existing research areas which all have their special theories. The areas we will briefly discuss below are: **research on research infor nation, research on adult education and research concerning the study circle.**

Research on research information

In Sweden as well as internationally research on research information is abundant. On the other hand the area of research information has not to any greater extent been noticed as an educational issue, particurlarly not in the Scandinavian countries. We do agree, however, with Tyden (1990) who describes research information as a kind of transmission of knowledge and consequentely "a classical educational area".

In an interesting contribution to a conference on research information Nitsch (1990) develops a critical perspective on some of the most popular models for the "diffusion of research information". On the basis of experiences of agricultural research information, he critizises the diffusion perspective for being too narrowly "sender orientedn. Instead Nitsch considers it an urgent research task to clarify the character of the encounter taking place with a purpose of developing as democratic a form as possible. This approach is a consequence of taking people seriously. It means starting to ask **which knowledge is transmitted to whom, in what context, and why?**

Research on adult education

According to research on adult education (e.g. Fransson & Larsson 1990, Holmer 1990, Tuomisto 1990) we can conclude that there appears to be considerable advantages to gain in an education closely connected to the workplace. It is also important to observe that effective learning situations hardly can be found in an education designed by the employer. For this kind of education is usually based upon the need of adapting the work force to changes dominated by shortsighted economic interests and thus cementing prevalent conditions (see Abrahamsson 1990). From a trade union perspective, a reasonable strategy must contain the development of a plan where the teaching starts from the reality of the employees. Such a strategy is also in accordance with the more longterm economic interests of society.

Research concerning the study circle

An educational activity with a traditionally high reputation is the study circle. The study circle has its own methods with roots in the so-called folk education - a form of adult education. Thus, in a way it also has its own theoretical basis.

One of the early spokesmen for the study circle as a method of taking in account the knowledge and experience of all participants was the well-known Swedish educator Oscar Olsson. Olsson (1922) claimed that the order of Good Templars was the first large popular organization in our country that tried to develope a common educational activity among their members. Long before this, however, initiatives were taken by early trade unionists to start "educational circles" of their own. Ragnerstam (1986) has described how two tailor journeymen made a formal application to start **The educational circle in Stockholm in october** 1845.

More recent investigations of the study circle (e.g. Bergstedt 1988), indicate that a double reality is obvious in the the study circle activity of today. On one hand, there is a picture of pronounced freedom, but on the other hand there is also a social control function in operation.

Thus the idea of the study circle as a forum for the collective acquisition of knowledge has a long tradition. However the content and the control of the circle work is too seldom critically discussed.

Similar areas of research

There are also some similar areas of research - not necessarily educational research - that are of interest here.

At the Center for Working Life in Stockholm, for instance, Åke Sandberg (1981) as the result of an extensive action research program put forward two calls for future research. The first one concerns the necessity of longterm research based among other things upon a critical social science. According to the second demand this research should have a content and a design aimed to support the attempts of people to gain control over their own situation.

From research on social welfare and care, a recently reported piece of work supplies another example. Thus Apelmo and Ekermo (1989) point to the necessity to combine the local knowledge and experience of people in a housing area with external knowledge from e.g. books, reports or lecturing experts.

Another exemple of a method of using the experience of ordinary people as a starting point to create a perspective on history and society can be found in Denmark. Harrits and Scharnberg (1988, 1989) report from a long-term project in the city of Århus on the collecting, documenting and dissemination of life histories of working people. An interesting aspect of their work is the use of the workers memories to tell "the small history" and to develope and combine this with "the big history" to create a historical consciousness.

As demonstrated above there are a number of areas where methods similar to these used in research circles have been developed. There are apparent parallels in the perspectives on man, knowledge and society as well.

The humanistic and democratizing approach

In order to explain and analyse the proceedings of a research circle we apply some important theoretical reasoning in the writings of Paulo Freire and Oscar Negt.

We will here draw upon two observations made by Freire (See e.g. Freire 1970, 1974). The first one concerns **the culture of science** and the second his thesis that **education can never be neutral.**

According to Freire the structures that prevent people from participating in decisions concerning their own lives create what he calls the culture of silence. This calls for a demystifying work which must be combined with a scientific criticism of reality developed in cooperation between scientists and practitioners. As a consequence of this scientific knowledge should not simply be uncritically transmitted. A problem emphasized by Freire is that many scientists have a very limited and also erroneous picture of reality which is a consequence of structural conditions.

A central ingredient in a pedagogy of the oppressed consists in training people to continuously reassess, to analyse "discoveries", to use scientific methods and processes and to perceive themselves in a dialectical relationship to their social reality. By developing such an education, people could be helped to take a more critical stand towards the world and thereby change it.

Even if the theories of Freire are more directly applicable in the Third World some lessons can nevertheless be learnt and used in more industrialized societies. The fact that the latter are very complex and extremely difficult to see through demands a partly adapted pedagogical approach in the same vein. The German sociologist Oskar Negt has discussed these issues in several publications (see for example Negt 1974, 1987). Interestingly enough Negt uses his experiences for industrial workers as the basis for his theories.

Negt examines the value of the content and the form of the circle education on the presence of three important conditions: 1. The closeness to the interests of the individual workers. 2. The elements of the workers' consciousness that go beyond the immediate interests of the workers and concern more general problems of society. 3. The meaning that the content of the learning processes may have for the emancipation of the workers.

Negt also emphasizes the important role of the trade unions as a social movement. Thus he regards them as an inherently democratizing force, provided they can develope their internal democracy and thereby strengthen their external power.

The research circles seem to have the potential to directly influence the double democratic function of the trade unions. Thus it is reasonable, at least in principle, to classify research circles as either "emancipatory" or "strategic". The line of demarcation can naturally be fluent.

The first type of circle is the one that primarily addresses participants "at the bottom of the hierarchy", groups that are relatively poorly educated and with a low status. The pedagogical thinking of for example Freire goes well with this context. The other type of research circle addresses participants a bit higher up in the union organisation and deals with issues of strategic importance for the trade union movement. The "emancipatory" research circle contributes above all to the development and vitalization of the internal democracy of the unions, while the "strategic" circle primarily strengthens the "external democracy", i.e. increases the ability of the unions to put forward well-founded demands for reforms of working life and society.

In order for the research circles to be able to contribute to the double democratic function it is necessary to encourage both kinds of circles and to stimulate a fruitful interplay between them. If this can be done there is a very large democratic and emancipatory potential in the many union members' knowledge and desire to change.

Epistemological issues

An epistemologically interesting aspect of the research circle is that here two principally different kinds of knowledge confront each other. We may label them the knowledge of the practitioner and the (more theoretical) knowledge of the researcher. It is vitally important that the encounter between these will be designed in a way that facilitates the occurrence of a dialogue. A prerequisite for this is that neither kind of knowledge is regarded as better, more true or more valuable than the other. Thus the researcher must demonstrate a humble attitude and realize that the knowledge and experience of the practitioner constitute another and partly complementary perspective. It also supplies a sort of empirical picture against which the researcher can evaluate his more theoretical knowledge. This in its turn may be partly contradicted, and perhaps corrected and further developed.

A fundamental quality of the research circle is indeed its perspective that the meeting between scientists and union participants can be of great value for both parties and stimulate the development of new knowledge. In order to encourage the fruitful dialogue the researcher should start from the assumption that all the participants in the circle possess abundant knowledge and experience to be exploited in the circle work.

In the initial phase of describing and defining the problem it might be a good idea to investigate systematically the participants' personal experience and viewpoints of the problem in focus. Some kind of inventory might also be useful.

A basic epistemological claim made in the work of the research circle is that everybody has knowledge and experiences of great value for others to share. Everyone can learn something from the other participants. This is especially important to keep in mind when the circle consists of poorly educated people with a low status in working life.

The role of the researcher

One thing that can be stated with a high degree of certainty, is the crucial role the researcher has in the circle. Since an important aspect of the circle work is supposed to be the transmission of knowledge and even the creation of new knowledge, it is natural that the researcher, who may be characterized as a professional "knowledge worker", should assume a special responsibility for these processes. Furthermore, it is a part of the general obligations of the scientist, at least in Sweden, to be able to inform the interested public of his or her research results.

From a scientific point of view it must be observed that the researcher's participation in the type of pedagogical activity involved in the research circle implies making a commitment. Thus, like in all pedagogical activities it is a feature also of the research circle that it by no means can be neutral. The Norwegian social scientist Enerstvedt accordingly writes about a "pedagogy of the social sciences" which is valid when science not only is **about** the people but **for** the people and originates in the communication with the people:

> "This pedagogy is political. And only when it is aware of this, it is scientific" (Enerstvedt 1971, p 84, our translation).

This means that a further condition is that the researcher should have a fairly positive attitude towards the trade unions or at least accepts them as an important and legitimate interest-group in society. On the other hand it is hardly an advantage for either side if the researcher has an **uncritically** positive attitude towards the trade union movement.

A fundamental condition in this case probably is that the researcher concerned possesses an unusually great proportion of curiosity which for a scientist is so necessary. At the same time the researcher must not have a (too pronounced) "ivory tower attitude". On the contrary, it is a clear advantage if he or she is open-minded, even extrovert and interested in current social issues. The last mentioned is something that really ought to be valid for most humanists and social scientists.

Concluding remarks

Based upon our observations and personal experiences from some circles in the Uppsala region we can discern four different pedagogical functions of the research circle (as developed in greater detail by Härnsten 1991). The following functions may be fulfilled to a varying degree and blend by each circle: 1. It can provide adult education either within the circle itself or it may stimulate the participants to take part of it outside the circle, 2. It can contain the transmission of research information, 3. It can strengthen "the double democratic function" of the union, i. e. develop the internal democracy as well as the possibilities of being a democratizing force in society, 4. It can contribute with new knowledge and perspectives for the research and not least it may encourage new research.

The provision of adult education

By taking the knowledge and the experience of the participants seriously it is possible to combine a kind of adult education with a trade union perspective. Thereby action programs can be developed and changes initiated. In order for the learning to be effective in the long run it is necessary that changes of some kind can be accomplished. The action approach may not always succeed but it will certainly contribute to the clarification of the possibilities of change under the prevalent balance of power.

The transfer of research information

Part of the activity taking place in the circle can be understood as the transfer of so-called research information from the participating or occasionally invited researcher to the rest of the participants.

There is ample evidence that the research circle is an unusually favourable model for transmission of research information in a way that really does reach the receivers and make them incorporate it with their own knowledge. As a matter of fact, in this context the receivers are extremely interested in the information provided. It is all about issues of real concern to them, issues that have even made them join a research circle.

The validity of this argument is further confirmed when current theory in education and the psychology of learning is taken into consideration. According to this body of science the forming of knowledge in an individual is regarded as an active process where knowledge is "captured" and integrated into an existing structure of knowledge. Thus it is worth distinguishing between research information as merely information and research information in the form of (integrated) new knowledge in the mind of the receiver.

The double democratic function

As indicated above both Freire and Negt underline the importance of the double democratic function in every kind of emancipatory education. Negt in particular stresses the importance of the internal democracy of the trade unions in order to be a democratic force in society. However it is not necessarily enough with an internal democracy. Sometimes a deeper knowledge is also needed to support the union demands and strengthen the arguments. In this context there exists a growing demand for relevant and systematic knowledge.

The development of (new) knowledge

In the research circle new knowledge can be created by the different individuals as well as by the group collectively. "New knowledge" here means above all new personal insights and learning by the participants. But it might also sometimes approach the common meaning: new general (or scientific) knowledge.

New knowledge in a more general sense can result from the fruitful confrontation between different perspectives. This is something in which all the participants can take part. New combinations of thought may emerge and insights may be gained. These discoveries can concern anything from conditions of a more trivial nature to complex issues of working life or society at large. As mentioned above there are few limitations in the choice of subject for the circle work.

It would perhaps be misleading to suggest that new knowledge of the same sort that results from actual research will be the product of circle work. It is probably more fair to claim that the researcher often gets impulses, suggestions, ideas and sometimes even insights, that can be of great value in his or her research. Beyond doubt the researcher who participates in a research circle will acquire substantial doses of knowledge that is new to him or her.

A noteworthy observation concerning the circle work is that a phenomenon which might be described as collective construction of knowledge actually can occur. Under favourable conditions where the circle work is developing in a positive direction, unusually open and constructive discussions can take place. A creative process then is started where many individuals together try hard to contribute to the discussion. The results achieved make it perfectly clear that no single individual (in the group), if ever so clever, would ever be able to reach as far as the group has in its collective process.

Conclusion

Above we have in a number of ways analysed the research circle from educational perspectives. It should be perfectly clear by now that we consider the research circle as an extremely interesting pedagogical method. Unlike other popular trends in education the research circle is not a mayfly, but has historical as well as international roots. It is among other things based upon a long Swedish tradition of popular adult education within the labour and the trade union movement. The current idea of "adding" researchers to the study circle may be regarded merely as a revitalization of the original intentions.

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The Essence of Teaching Adults - The views of 124 Swedish teachers in Municipal Adult Education.

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Abstract

Teachers' thoughts on the difference between teaching adults and young people were analysed. The analysis was based on semi- structured interviews with 124 teachers in formal adult education. Through a qualitative analysis a number of categories were created that covered the fundamental ideas of teachers on the differences. The quantitative distribution of answers among the categories was calculated. Three metacategories covered almost all variations: 1. Adults are more serious. 2. The experience of adults influences the content of teaching. 3. Adults demand more caution in relations.

The notion of "adult education" presupposes that there is something special in adults' relation to studies and learning - that there is a difference that makes adult education into a separate entity. These could be differences of many kinds; the unique history of adult education or the organisations that shape adult education. However, for many people the heart of adult education is the distinctive traits of the educative process. It is this question that is dealt with here - what difference does it make to the teachers that the students are adults?

One can use different words that all give different connotations with reference to the process of education: learning, classroom interaction, dialogue, instructional process, etc. These words refer to different parts or aspects of the process, but they also contain perspectives on that process. In this text the word teaching is used. It is based on a study of a formal adult education, where teaching is the common term. It also focuses on what the teacher does.

The question about a specific "adult education" is hardly new. In our corner of the world, Grundtvig formulated visions of a process that inspired the creation of folk high schools in the mid19:th century. Later and elsewhere, other educationists elaborated different visions, names like Lindeman, Freire or Negt can be mentioned. Their ideas were founded on certain philosophies or "zeitgeists", such as Grundtvig's romanticism or Linde- man's progressivism.

In this study the point of departure is a different one: what are the actual differences experienced teachers in adult education report. This is, then, an empirical study of teachers' views of teaching adults. These views are expressions of teachers conceptions, taken for granted or reflected, but also based on experience. They are not views a detached observer, but from people who also take part in creating what they are reporting about.

It should also be pointed out that our point of departure is not some vision the empirical existence of which we are investigating, but rather what teachers themselves think are the essentially distinctive traits in teaching adults. In our way of treating the data, we have tried to follow this pheno- menological ambition. By looking for the variation in answers we have had the ambition of having a nuanced basis for our concluding discussion about what is common to teachers' views of teaching adults, in spite of the varia- tion.

The results presented here are part of a broader set of studies of everyday life in municipal adult education. In one study, the creation of a national curriculum for municipal adult education was in focus (Alexandersson, Fransson, Larsson, 1991). In an ethnographic study the initial encounters and the following months for a group of students were followed. Students' influence on decision-making was one focus of attention (Larsson, 1990). Another participant observation study was made of a group of auxillary nurses in training (Bergvall, 1991).

The third kind of study was the one that is directly relevant here. 124 teachers in municipal adult education in the western part of Sweden were interviewed about their teaching; their veiws as well as routines (Larsson, Fransson, Alexandersson, 1990). They were all actively engaged in teaching adults from a few hours per week to full time. Most of them had long experience of both teaching adults and teaching children or young people.

One of our questions was: "What is the difference between teaching adults and young people?" The results presented here are based on answers to this question and follow-up questions. Our aim was to get answers that gave us the teachers' perspectives and not our own. Answers were analysed qualitatively; i e we analysed the individual answers with the intention of creating categories that gave expression to what was said in individual answers (Marton, 1981, Larsson, 1984), and we ended up with a number of categories, presented below. We consider the quantitative distribution only a crude indicator of how common a certain view is. What is more important for us is the qualitatively different categories. By conducting open ended interveiws we can be sure we do not miss important parts of teachers' ways of talking about the phenomenon we are interested in. They open up to spontaneity and philosophing among the teachers.

Quotations that illustrate the most common categories.

Linking abstract categories to concrete expressions in the interveiws is important to us. According to Rommetveit (1972), communication is rooted in the sharing of experiences words refer to; thus meaning can be shared. The less we know about the concrete context of the concepts, the poorer our understanding of the meaning. This is why we often quote from interveiws to show concrete examples of the way we use words. However, there is only room for one quotation for each category here - in the Swedish original there are several.

Adults are more motivated, take more responsibility.

"There is much more in adults that challenges the teacher; many are hungry for knowledge. They soak it up, they want so much. When a student gives that response, you straighten yourself up; you want to give them as much as possible" (a teacher in English).

There are no disciplinary problems in teaching adults

"Another difference is that you don´t have to use any time at all for disciplinary problems after the introduction of what you might call your meeting agenda". (a teacher in social science)

Adults´ experience affects the course content.

"One difference is that in municipal adult education there is... you follow up more.. you have a base more for....when it comes to the young ones you have to erect a broader base. So it is more...you have to start more in the student and you do not have to be....actually, you have more choices when you are in municipal adult education. You have this because they have such vast experience to choose from, so that it doesn´t become as narrow as when I teach in secondary school, where it is more controlled by the teacher as they have no experience. So there is a marked difference that way." (teacher in social services)

Adults demand effective teaching

"Adults demand more of the teacher and the teaching. The teacher has to work more in adult education than in the secondary school, but it is more gratifying." (teacher in English)

Adults are less spontanous, want more secure routines

"The only thing you miss here in comparison to secondary school is the spontaneity. That´s what I think I long for; the young ones are spontanous, for better or worse. You get an immediate reaction". and later in the inter- view: "Sometimes they don´t dare to put forward this criticism, but it comes after a month, two months: when we did this and that we thought so and so, and that is depressing, since you would have wanted that directly so that you could change it. It is some kind of exaggerated respect they have." (teacher in social science).

Teaching adults demands caution and tact, adults are more sensitive.

"Yes, there is a difference. You have to be somewhat more cautious when you work with adults. They are more reserved towards each other, don´t want to expose themselves in the same way. There is a quite different spontaneity between youngsters in relation to that." (teacher in physics, the quotation can also be related to the category "adults are less spontaneous, want more secure routines")

In the table 1 below the distribution of answers is presented among the different subjects the teachers taught. (Eng = English, Phy = Physics, SoS = Social Science, Com = Computer, Soc = Social Service.)

Table 1: Number of teachers with a certain view of differences between teaching adults and youngsters; %, n=124.

	Eng	Phy	SoS	Com	Soc	TOT
No difference	0	0	0	4	0	1
Adults are more motivated, take more responsibility	68	29	43	48	47	49
No disciplinary problems teaching adults	30	42	43	26	26	33
Adults experiences affects course content	19	17	67	22	42	31
Adults demand effective teaching	24	25	19	22	31	24

Adults less spontanous, want safe routines.	19	17	14	13	16	16
Adults demand caution and tact, adults are more sensitive	19	21	5	17	10	15
More equal relation teacher-student	14	21	5	4	26	14
Adults never argue - accept	8	4	10	9	16	9
Adults more critical, demand reasons and motives.	14	0	0	0	2	6
Adults less receptive, not such good memories	11	4	0	0	0	6
Adults need slower tempo	5	0	5	13	0	5
Adults need long classes, have difficulties with quick changes.	16	0	5	0	0	5
Adults need more repetition	5	0	0	0	0	2
Don´t know, have only taught adults	5	0	0	4	16	5

General pattern

The presentation above covers practically every answer given by the 124 teachers that were interviewed, and describes the full variation elicited by the interview. On further reflection over this variation in answers, I can see a more condensed, general pattern that covers almost all the categories. Three metacategories are revealed: Adults are more serious, their experi- ences influences the teaching and adults demand more care in relations.

Adults are serious

The most dominating assumption that our teachers operate with is that adults are more serious, are more concientious about their studies. This is expressed in terms of more motivation, responsibility, demands for efficiency, self-discipline and lack of spontaneity. It is possible to understand this in terms of a socialization perspective, if we consider the teachers' answers as reflections of reality. The adult is fostered to suppress spontan- iety, playfulness, easygoingness; an adult has become "civilized" (Elias,1989).

It is also possible to understand the seriousness as an expression of a difference in existential situation. Children and teenagers are in classrooms not out of choice, but as a part of life taken for granted . For adults, studies are normally choosen in relation to certain needs. For young people classroom life is the background to a substantial part of life, while studies for adults emerges against the background of work and family life.

Adults' experience affects the course content

One-third of the teachers describe differences between adults and youngsters to experiences. Perhaps it is surprising that this figure is not higher. A closer look at the subjects shows that in two subjects experiences is considered as important; social science and social services. Thus one can find support for the thought that subjects vary in the extent to which experience is con- sidered relevant. In the teaching in social sciences some relevant contexts are linked more closly to the role of an adult , for instance working life or parental life. In social services students take part in vocational education in a field where they have normally already worked.

One can interpret the situation in the other subjects as one where content is defined in a way that makes experience irrelevant or that young people have relevant experience to the same extent as adults.

Adults have to be handled with more caution.

Some teachers view adults as more fragile, more insecure than young people. They demand more tact, they want more of a safe routine and they are accepting, and suppress criticism.

In many ways, this is not the common sense view of the differences between young people and adults. One way of understanding this is to point to the fact that the adults the teachers are talking about are students who did not do well in school before, and thus are probably especially defensive in relation to teachers. Many of them have low self-esteem. Teachers' "cau- tion" would be an act of sympathy; many discuss their students lack of self-confidence. In fact, growing self-confidence is one of three important con- sequenses they think adult education has for the students (Larsson et al. 1990). Other Swedish researchers have found that this is also the students' veiw. (Höghielm, 1987, Lundqvist, 1989).

A different way of understanding the phenomenon is to relate the demand for caution to rules about how adults should be treated in accordance with their adult identity. In a different study within the project, an ethnographic participation study of a group of students and their initial encounters with adult education, there is some evidence to support this (Larsson, 1990). In this study, it was clear that all teachers with long experience of adult education involved treated the adult newcommers in a different way than is described in research literature about teachers' initial encounters with children. In the latter case, "effective teachers" are eager to introduce rules from the first day and as clearly as possible. In the adult classroom the opposite was the case: rules were not introduced in the first phase, but successively indistinctly. They never used sanctions against individuals who did not adhere to rules.

From this it can be concluded that teachers operate with a different concept of how adult students should be related to, what we might call "respect". We can also note that this is a shared concept; a definition regulating the interaction in which "disrespect" is reacted to.

A similar empirical study

Beder & Darkenwald (1982) made a study of North American teachers in adult education on the differences between teaching young and adult students. Normally these were college teachers. This study gives us an opportunity to compare with results from quite a different context, culturally as well as in relation to the institutional framework. One similarity is that both studies are predominately of formal adult education.

According to this study, American teachers gave the adult student the following characteristics: more motivation to learn, more willingness to take responsibility for their studies, more clarity about what they wanted to do, more willingness to work hard to learn. Teachers also spent less time on discipline. Finally, teachers related teaching materials to the life experience of the adult student.

It is striking how similar these findings are to our own, with so many examples of the seriousness of adult students and that experience does make a difference. Our need for "caution" is absent, however, which may be an effect of the difference in educational context or in research methods.

The grand visions and our findings

The grand adult education visions about how adult education ought to be could also be compared with our teachers' views of the real differences. One similarity is the importance of the experience of the adults. Grundtvig (Terning, 1983), Freire (1975) and Knowles (1970) all make this into a theme, though they define experiences differently.

Another common theme in the "grand visions" is the critique of the traditional pedagogy and that it suppresses students and creates individuals with a lack of confidence and autonomy. Adult education has to be quite different. We do not find this at all in our study. Our teachers do not describe any such criticism and they do not think student influence is unique to adult education.

A third common theme for the visionaires is the life-relevance theme: that adult education should be for life and action in life. This is not stated by our teachers in a clear way. The seriousness in their studies is looked upon as something that relates to life, but more in terms of the fact that they are studying, not the content of their studies. It is important for student to have their merits to create a better life for themselves, but knowledge as such is not necessarily important to the essence of life.

On the whole, there is a striking contrast between the two empirical studies and the "grand visions". "Real teaching" seems to have a lot of traits in common, as teachers view it. The visions discuss how things should be, while the teachers discuss how things are - is this the basis of the dif- ferences? I think that is too simplistic a view; teachers are not only obser- vers, they are actors and they shape education in interaction with their students within certain frames. They seldom express the desire to do some- thing radically different from what they do, so there is not a basic problem of frames (Dahllöf, 1967) considered too narrow of the teachers. It is more that frames are taken for granted and that some common sense ideas about teaching and education are the basis of the general pattern, within which there is some variation. One such variation is the changes occurring when the students happen to be adults.

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Social Change and Adult Education Research
- Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1990/91

The co-operation of the Nordic adult education researchers was strengthened by the first Nordic Adult Education Researcher Meeting which was organized in Kungälv in 1990 under the auspices of Nordens Folkliga Akademi. The meeting was specifically designed to serve as a forum for contacts and discussions. The first meeting was attended by 73 researchers in all and the second meeting in the summer of 1991 by 46 researchers. This second meeting was held in Gothenburg where Nordens Folkliga Akademi had just moved. The following researcher meeting will be in Gothenburg in the summer of 1992. The goal is that the meeting will gradually develop into an annual or biannual conference of Nordic adult education researchers.
The contents of this yearbook have been compiled primarily on the basis of the papers presented in the second Nordic researcher meeting. The articles do not necessarily give a full picture of the research carried out in the different countries, but hopefully they provide the reader with a general idea of the aspects and issues which interest the Nordic researchers today and, also, of how they approach these problems. To provide a more uniform picture of the status of adult education in the different Nordic countries, brief general surveys have been added to the beginning of the book.

Keywords: Adult education research, Nordic countries

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